Getting L2 Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs Right

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November 2013

A thesis submitted to McGill University

in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates whether or not linguistically misleading classroom instruction can affect second language (L2) acquisition. Of particular interest are linguistically inappropriate classroom rules which are superficially logical but linguistically false.

A case in point is provided by French reflexive and reciprocal verbs, which are formed with the clitic *se*. The reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* does not behave on a par with object clitic pronouns as many reliable syntactic diagnostics suggest (Kayne 1975, Reinhart & Siloni 2005). Superficially, however, *se* generally resembles object clitic pronouns, due to similarities in distribution and form. It is, then, not surprising that classroom French L2 instruction consistently misrepresents *se* verbs as syntactic transitive constructions, and *se* itself as a reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun. Two experimental tasks (contextualized grammaticality judgments and truth value judgments) are designed to examine whether Russian- and English-speaking L2 learners of French adopt the linguistically inaccurate classroom generalization or converge on a native-like representation of *se*. Both tasks involve constructions where *se* and clitic pronouns behave differently. In addition, a questionnaire on *se* taps participants' recollection of any explicit classroom instruction. The most important finding of the dissertation is that although about half of participants refer to *se* as an object pronoun in the *se* questionnaire – thus showing that they remembered the classroom generalization – L2 learners still clearly make the relevant native-like distinction between *se* and true object pronouns in the experimental tasks. Learners' failure to internalize superficially logical but linguistically false generalizations at the level of *linguistic competence* – as opposed to the level of *learned linguistic knowledge* (Schwartz 1993) – suggests that adult language acquirers must still employ language-specific learning mechanisms and go beyond instruction.

While focusing on the L2 acquisition of French reflexive and reciprocal verbs by native speakers of Russian and English, the present dissertation also reformulates the existing literature on the related phenomena in light of current developments in

theoretical syntax and develops an analysis of reflexive and reciprocal verbs which has adequate empirical coverage and also does away with certain previous stipulations.

RÉSUMÉ

La présente dissertation cherche a déterminer si des consignes linguistiquement trompeuses données en salle de classe peuvent avoir un effet sur l'acquisition d'une langue seconde (L2). On s'intéressera en particulier aux règles pédagogiques qui sont superficiellement logiques mais linguistiquement fausses.

Un cas illustratif est fourni par les verbes réfléchis et réciproques du français, qui se forment avec le clitique *se*. Ce pronom réfléchi/réciproque ne se comporte pas de la même manière que les pronoms clitiques objets, tel que le suggèrent de nombreux diagnostiques syntaxiques fiables (Kayne 1975, Reinhart & Siloni 2005). Superficiellement, toutefois, le *se* ressemble globalement aux pronoms clitiques objets, à cause de certaines similarités au niveau de la distribution et de la forme. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que le français L2 pédagogique présente fréquemment les verbes *se* comme des constuctions syntaxiques transitives, et le *se* lui-même comme un pronom objet réfléchi/réciproque. Deux tâches expérimentales (des jugements de grammaticalité contextualisés et des jugements de valeur de vérité) sont conçus pour découvrir si les anglophones et russophones apprenant le français comme L2 adoptent la généralisation pédagogique (qui est lingusitiquement erronée) ou convergent vers la représentation du *se* des locuteurs natifs. Les deux tâches comportent des constructions où le *se* et les pronoms clitiques se comportent différemment. De plus, un questionnaire au sujet du *se* fait appel aux souvenirs que peuvent avoir les participant de toute instruction pédagogique explicite. La découverte la plus importante de cette dissertation est le fait que bien qu'environ la moitié des participants désignent le *se* comme un pronom objet dans le question qui porte dessus – ce qui démontre qu'ils ont retenu la généralisation pédagogique – il est clair que les apprenants de L2, tels des locuteurs natifs, font encore la distinction pertinente entre le *se* et les véritables pronoms objets dans les tâches expérimentales. L'incapacité des apprenants à assimiler des généralisations superficiellement logiques mais linguistiquement fausses au niveau de la *compétence linguistique* – par opposition au niveau des *connaissances linguistiques apprises* (Schwartz 1993) – suggère que les acquérants adultes de L2 doivent

encore employer des méchanismes d'apprentissage particuliers à la langue et aller au-delà de l'instruction.

Tout en mettant l'accent sur l'acquisition L2 des verbes réfléchis et réciproques du français par les anglophones et les russophones, la présente dissertation reformule également la recherche existente portant sur les phénomènes reliés à la lumière des récentes avancées dans la syntaxe théorique et développe une analyse des verbes réfléchis et réciproques qui jouit d'un soutien empirique adéquat et élimine également certaines stipulations précédentes.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to thank Lydia White for her outstanding supervision, encouragement, advice and guidance. She is a model that I aspire to, as a scholar and as a person, and I cannot thank her enough for her support, thoroughness and patience.

I am also extremely grateful to Lisa Travis and Tanja Kupisch for serving on my committee and for providing valuable input to my dissertation research. I would like to thank Lisa for supervising my (morpho)syntax chapters and Tanja for numerous comments, suggestions and questions which improved this work in many ways.

Many people have contributed to this dissertation by discussing various related aspects with me, commenting on talks and other presentations, reading and proofreading selected chapters, helping with translations, etc. I am deeply thankful to David-Étienne Bouchard, Susanne Carroll, Will Dalton, Laurent Dekydtspotter, Heather Goad, Andrea Gualmini, Émile Khordoc, Moti Lieberman, Larissa Nossalik, Öner Özçelik, Michel Paradis, Adèle-Elise Prévost, Bonnie Schwartz, Christine Shea, Alexandra Simonenko, amongst many others. I am especially grateful to Tali Siloni who introduced me to the realm of reflexivity and reciprocity in the first place and to Annie Tremblay for letting me use her French cloze test. Above all, I am grateful to all participants who agreed to take part in my study.

I also would like to thank every professor and fellow student at the departments of linguistics at the three universities where I have had the privilege of studying and working over the last ten years or so: McGill University, Tel-Aviv University and the University of Calgary. You have provided me with an environment that very much shaped me the way I am, academically and beyond. Thank you for my extraordinary learning experience, inspiration and support.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for all their love, understanding and patience. I could not have done it without you, Artem, Dennis and Victoria.

1. Introduction

Effects of explicit instruction have received considerable attention in second language (L2) research, leading some to conclude that it can cause changes to L2 learners' linguistic competence (e.g. Carroll & Swain 1993, Izumi & Lakshmanan 1998, White 1991). At the same time, linguistically misleading instruction has not truly been addressed, with just a few studies concluding that it is not generally internalized by learners (Belikova 2008, Bruhn-Garavito 1995, Özçelik 2011). Of particular interest are those linguistically inappropriate rules that do not face straightforward counterevidence in the input. Indeed, such rules present us with an L2 acquisition scenario where two types of approaches to adult L2 acquisition – the domain-general view and the domain-specific view – make clearly contrasting predictions.

The domain-general view claims that L2 acquisition is guided by general cognitive (i.e. nonlinguistic) principles and strategies, including problem-solving, distributional analysis, statistical inferencing and analogy (Bley-Vroman 1989, 1990; Clahsen & Muysken 1986, Meisel 1997, amongst many others). On the other hand, the domain-specific view assumes that L2 acquisition is constrained by the knowledge of what natural grammars can and cannot look like. To phrase this differently, the innately given Universal Grammar (UG), which is believed to constrain first language (L1) acquisition, is inoperative in adult L2 acquisition under the domain-general view, while it is still available to L2 acquirers in the domain-specific model.[1] To this end, if learners fail to internalize superficially logical but linguistically false generalizations, this will suggest that adult language

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[1] While some researchers adopting the UG-access position assume UG to be available only partially (resulting in a debate as to exactly what aspects of UG are ultimately operative) (cf. Beck 1998, Hawkins 1998, Hawkins & Chan 1997, Smith & Tsimpli 1995, amongst others), I focus on the 'full access' view such as advocated in Schwartz & Sprouse (1996) whereby interlanguage grammars are constrained by UG and are not restricted to the L1 grammar.

There are also researchers who believe that there is no UG/specialized acquisition device, to begin with, so that even L1 acquisition draws on general cognitive principles (e.g. see processing amelioration in O'Grady (2011)).

acquirers still employ language specific learning mechanisms, and are sensitive to subtle linguistic cues which are not directly derivable on the basis of input alone. Adult L2 acquisition might then not be as radically different from child L1 acquisition as sometimes claimed (cf. Bley-Vroman 1990, Clahsen & Muysken 1986, Meisel 1997).

The present thesis contributes to this line of research. A case in point is provided by French reflexive and reciprocal verbs, which are formed with the clitic *se*, see (1).

(1) a. Ils   s'habillent.
       they dress(refl/rec)
   b. Ils   s'embrassent.
       they kiss(refl/rec)
   c. Ils   se dessinent.
       they   draw(refl/rec)
   d. Ils   se parlent.
       they   talk(refl/rec)

The reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* does not behave on a par with object clitic pronouns (Kayne 1975, Reinhart & Siloni 2005) as many reliable syntactic diagnostics suggest (e.g. passives, causatives, ellipsis constructions); *se*-verbs behave as syntactically intransitive and *se* is best analyzed as a detransitivity marker, as argued in detail in chapter 2. Superficially, however, *se* generally resembles French object clitic pronouns, due to similarities in distribution and form, see (2) where *me* is a pronominal clitic in (2a) but it is an allomorph of the detransitivity marker *se* in (2b).

(2) a. Lucie **me** rase.
       Lucie   me   shave
       'Lucie shaves me.'
   b. Je **me** rase.
       I   SE   shave
       I shave (myself).

In addition, *se* superficially resembles reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in some other languages, e.g. Russian and English. It is, then, not surprising that classroom French L2 instruction consistently misrepresents *se* verbs as syntactic transitive constructions, and *se* itself as a reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun. The superficial resemblance of *se* to clitic object pronouns is highlighted in every context and repeatedly pointed to; indeed, the French as a second language (FSL) term used to refer to *se*-verbs is 'pronominal verbs' ('les verbes pronominaux') and *se* is invariably included in the list of personal pronouns. A representative example of what the FSL instruction has to say about *se* is shown in (3).[2]

(3)a. 'Pronominal forms are identical <…> to other active forms: it is simply that the pronoun object happens to stand for the subject. Thus, *je me coupe* (i.e. *moi*) is morphologically and syntactically the same as *je le coupe* (i.e. *le pain*).' (Judge & Healey 1990: 203)

   b. Je me coupe   (i.e.   moi)
     I   cut(refl)   (i.e.   myself)

   c. Je le coupe   (i.e.   le pain)
     I   it cut(trans) (i.e.   the   bread)

This dissertation examines whether Russian- and English-speaking L2 learners of French adopt the linguistically inaccurate classroom generalization or converge on a native-like representation of *se*. If general cognitive principles and strategies are what determines the outcome of adult L2 acquisition, L2ers should converge on the linguistically inaccurate analysis of *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, based on superficial data observation, L1/L2 pattern matching and explicit classroom instruction. On the other hand, if L2 acquisition is assumed to be domain-specific, with adult L2 learners being sensitive to subtle linguistic cues and interlanguage grammars falling within a range specified by UG, L2ers are expected to resist adopting the pronominal misanalysis of *se*.

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[2] Note that the pronominal analysis of *se* is a misanalysis from the point of view of a linguist.

To summarize, this thesis provides an experimental investigation of the extent to which L2ers are or are not misled by classroom input. It also offers a syntactic analysis of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in terms of the L-syntax/S-syntax framework, which does away with certain stipulations and problems associated with previous accounts.

The thesis is organized as follows. In chapter 2, I present an overview of the descriptive facts concerning reflexives and reciprocals in French, Russian and English and discuss the issue of morphological marking, as well as how the verbal strategy of encoding reflexivity and reciprocity compares to the anaphoric (nominal) strategy in the three languages. In chapter 3, I discuss the morpho-syntax of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in more detail and revise the existing analysis of these verbs (within the Lexicon-Syntax Parameter approach) in light of recent advances in theoretical linguistics (the L-syntax/S-syntax framework). Chapter 4 presents a review of some of the acquisition research pertaining to reflexive and reciprocal verbs and effects of explicit instruction. In chapters 5 and 6, I report on an original empirical study that was conducted to investigate the effect of misleading classroom instruction regarding *se*; chapter 5 provides details of the methodology and design, while chapter 6 focuses on the statistical analysis of the experimental data. Finally, in chapter 7, I discuss the findings and their implications, and explain certain results that may seem puzzling at first. In addition, I identify a number of limitations and propose directions for future research.

2. Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs: Introduction and Background

In this chapter, properties of reflexive and reciprocal verbs are discussed. The present thesis focuses on the fact that the French reflexive/reciprocal detransitivity marker is misrepresented as an anaphoric pronoun in the second language (L2) classroom. Consequently, three major questions will be addressed here. First, exactly how are reflexivity and reciprocity marked morphologically on derived reflexives and reciprocals in French? Second, how does this French verbal morphology (the clitic *se*) and the reflexive and reciprocal verbs it derives compare to the reflexive and reciprocal marking of derived verbs in the native languages of French L2ers in the present study (the Russian suffix *-sja* and the English null morphology)? The final question addressed in the present chapter is how the verbal strategy of encoding reflexivity and reciprocity compares to the anaphoric (nominal) strategy in the three languages. These questions will remain the focus of discussion in Chapter 3, where they will be readdressed within two theoretical frameworks in more detail.

2.1 Defining Reflexivity and Reciprocity

In defining reflexivity and reciprocity, it is important to draw a distinction between reflexive/reciprocal situations, on the one hand, and reflexive/reciprocal marking, on the other hand (cf. Lichtenberk 1994). Whether a linguistic marker is considered reflexive or reciprocal is derivative of whether it can be used to mark reflexive or reciprocal situations (in addition to other functions it may have); as a result, defining reflexive and reciprocal events should be the starting point.

Following Lichtenberk (1994), amongst many others, participants of an event act on themselves in reflexive situations (e.g. shaving oneself, talking to oneself, killing oneself), while they act on each other in reciprocal situations (hugging one another, looking at one another, hating one another). When communicated linguistically, such events can be encoded via a special marker – e.g. a clitic (1), an affix (2) or an anaphor (3) – that is combined with an (often transitive) verb but can also be expressed without any obvious marker (4). The latter group of

verbs often involves reflexivity and reciprocity which are inherent to the concepts in question.[1]

(1) French:

    a. Jean   **s'**   **est rasé** avant   son entrevue importante.

       Jean   CL   *shaved   before   his important interview*

       'Jean shaved (himself) before his important interview.'

    b. Madonna   et   Britney Spears   **se**   **sont vues** pendant un gala.

       *Madonna   and   Britney Spears   *CL*   saw   during   a   gala*

       'Madonna and Britney Spears saw each other at a gala event.'

(2) Russian:

    a. Ivan **pobril-sja**   pered   vazhnym   sobesedovaniem.

       Ivan shaved-AFF   before   important   interview

       'Jean shaved (himself) before an important interview.'

    b. Masha   i   Petja **videli-s'**   na   koncerte.

       Masha   and   Petja saw-AFF   at   concert.

       'Masha and Petja saw each other (met) at a concert.'

(3) English:

    a. John shaved **himself** before an important interview.

    b. Mary and Pete saw **each other** at a concert.

(4) Russian:

    a. Petr   sovershil   samoubijstvo.

       Petr   committed   suicide.

       'Petr committed suicide/killed himself.'

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[1] Siloni (2012) refers to such reciprocal predicates as 'subject symmetric verbs' (e.g. *shake hands*, *play chess*).

b. Petja i   Masha zakljuchili brak.
   Petja and Masha executed marriage
   'Petja and Masha wedded/married each other.'

In light of the nature of the denoted event, the predicates in (1-4) are often referred to as reflexive, as in the (a) examples, or reciprocal, as in the (b) examples. On the other hand, the reflexive and reciprocal markers – mostly clitics and affixes – involved in some of these predicates are known to be multifunctional in many languages, often expressing a broad range of meaning in addition to reflexivity and reciprocity (e.g. Bruhn de Garavito 2000, Reinhart and Siloni 2005, amongst many others), see (5).

(5) French 'se':
     a. Unaccusative verbs: *se casser* 'break', *se trouver* 'be situated'
     b. 'Experiencing' verbs (e.g. Reinhart 2001): *se dépêcher* 'hurry',
        s'ennuyer 'get bored'
     c. Middles: *(bien) se vendre* '(easily/well) sell'
     d. 'Idiomatic' reflexives: *se souvenir* 'remember', *se rendre* 'go/surrender',
        se tromper 'make a mistake'[2]

Verbs that are combined with a multifunctional marker that is primarily associated with reflexivity (and reciprocity) but do not themselves denote reflexive (or reciprocal) events can nevertheless be referred to as 'reflexive' (e.g.

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[2] Idiomatic reflexive verbs are also sometimes referred to as 'inherent reflexives' (e.g. Waltereit 2000), which is confusing in the light of the other use of the latter term discussed above. The group of idiomatic reflexives is somewhat heterogeneous; they are generally defined as lacking semantic predictability in the sense that the meaning of the verb cannot be guessed from its transitive counterpart. In certain cases, there is no transitive counterpart (e.g. *se souvenir* 'remember'). Certain authors (e.g. Waltereit 2000) go as far as to assert that such 'inherently reflexive' verbs are the only true reflexives.

Geniušienė 1987, Waltereit 2000, amongst others), while the multifunctional marker itself is referred to as a 'reflexive' marker.

Crucially, the present thesis deals with those reflexive and reciprocal verbs whose reflexivity and reciprocity are derived rather than inherent; moreover, it deals only with those reflexive and reciprocal verbs that express semantic reflexivity and reciprocity. From now on, the terms reflexive and reciprocal verbs will be used to refer to such cases exclusively. The next section will draw a distinction between the verbal strategy of encoding reflexivity and reciprocity, see (1-2), and the anaphoric (nominal) strategy, see (3), across languages. This distinction is particularly important in that this thesis looks into the outcomes of L2 classroom instruction when the French reflexive/reciprocal verbal marker (clitic) *se* is misanalysed as a reflexive/reciprocal anaphoric pronoun.

2.2 Formal Encoding of Reflexivity and Reciprocity

2.2.1 Introductory Remarks

Languages make use of two major strategies of encoding reflexivity and reciprocity, often co-occurring in the same language (e.g. Faltz 1985, Haspelmath 2007, Haspelmath 2008, Maslova & Nedjalkov 2005, Miličević 2007, Siloni 2008, amongst many others): (i) via derived intransitive verbs whose subjects are understood as both the Agent and the Patient (sometimes the Goal) of the corresponding transitive (or ditransitive) verb and whose reflexive or reciprocal marker is a part of the verb's morphology (the so-called *verbal* strategy; section 2.2.2), see (6a),[3] and (ii) through syntactic binding, marking coreferentiality of arguments by means of reflexive and reciprocal anaphors (i.e. reflexivity and reciprocity are encoded on the nominal part of the predicate, hence the so-called *nominal*/*anaphoric*/*periphrastic* strategy; section 2.2.3), see (6b).[4] While verbal

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[3] For simplicity, I use the labels *Agent* and *Theme* (or *Goal*) throughout this thesis to refer to the verb's external and internal arguments, respectively.

[4] For an overview of some other (irrelevant for this thesis) strategies of expressing reflexivity and reciprocity see, for example, Haspelmath (2007) and Kazenin (2001).

reflexives and reciprocals are intransitive verbs (see section 2.3), anaphoric reflexive and reciprocal cases form syntactic (often transitive) constructions where the anaphor constitutes the verb's syntactic object.

(6) Hebrew:

   a. dan ve-ron   hitkatvu.
      Dan and-Ron   wrote(rec)
   b. dan ve-ron   katvu   exad la-sheni.
      Dan and-Ron   wrote(trans) one   to+the-other

Siloni (2008) notes that although the two strategies may seem generally equivalent, see (6a) vs. (6b), important differences are revealed under closer examination. Thus, when (6a) and (6b) appear in embedded contexts like (7a) and (7b), this gives rise to ambiguity (the so-called 'we' and 'I' readings, see Higginbotham (1980)) only in the case of anaphoric expressions (7b).

(7) Hebrew (Siloni 2008):

   a. dan ve-ron   amru she-hem   hitkatvu.
      Dan and-Ron   said that-they   wrote(rec)
      i. Dan and Ron said that they corresponded.
   b. dan ve-ron   amru she-hem   katvu   exad la-sheni.
      Dan and-Ron   said that-they   wrote   one   to+the-other
      i. Dan and Ron said that they corresponded.
      ii. Dan said that he wrote to Ron and Ron said that he wrote to Dan.

Diachronically, verbal reflexives and reciprocals often derive from syntactic constructions involving reflexive anaphors (Ariel 2006, Croft 2003, Gast & Haas 2008, Haspelmath 2007, 2008, Kazenin 2001, Kemmer 1993, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1998, amongst many others).[5] Indeed, the Russian reflexive/reciprocal

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[5] In languages where the multifunctional marker is etymologically related to the anaphor, various types of reflexively marked verbs are all viewed as ultimately deriving from syntactic anaphoric

suffix *-sja* and the French reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* are in fact reflexive/reciprocal pronouns (more precisely, pronominal clitics) etymologically (e.g. Croft 2003, Kazenin 2001); the development of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme in both cases involves grammaticalization and phonological erosion, although more so in the case of Russian where this development began earlier and was largely completed by the time the Romance development began (Croft 2003).[6] Since the present thesis focuses on the fact that the French *se* is misrepresented as an anaphoric pronoun in the L2 classroom, I will show in section 2.3 that *se* verbs should be indeed analyzed synchronically as syntactically intransitive verbs rather than anaphoric reflexive/reciprocal constructions involving a pronoun.

2.2.2 Verbal Strategies

Focusing on verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization more specifically, these operations are *valence-reducing* in that they reduce the number of syntactic arguments of the verb (Kazenin 2001, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1998, amongst many others). Verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization suppress the syntactic

constructions diachronically; at the same time, unaccusatives and experiencing verbs clearly depart greatly from the source construction as compared to reflexive and reciprocal verbs, most clearly in terms of their semantics, see (5) above. Synchronically (and simplifying somewhat), what is common to different types of verbs sharing the so-called reflexive morphology is that they are all valence-reducing (or recessive) with regards to their corresponding transitive entry, i.e. they 'decrease the number of core arguments of the verb' (Kazenin 2001: 918).

[6] Arguably, the present status of *se* in French (and properties associated with it, see sections 2.2.2 and 3.1) characterized the Russian *-sja* at an earlier stage where *-sja* still attached to verbs more productively than presently, but then lost its productivity following the disappearance of pronominal clitics, while full (non-clitic) pronouns, both personal and reflexive/reciprocal ones, continued to be used productively in the syntax (Chernykh 1954). Apparently, the present status of *se* in French is relatively stable, partially due to its (superficial) analogy to pronominal clitics (see section 2.3.1) and a very restricted use of full reflexive (*lui-même* 'himself') and reciprocal (*l'un l'autre* 'each other') pronouns (see sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3).

realization of the object of a transitive verb (or – in some other cases – one of the objects of a ditransitive verb), so that the intended subject and the intended object of a given verbal entry both end up associated with (and syntactically realized in) the subject position of the resulting intransitive verb. As far as morphological marking is concerned, reflexive and reciprocal verbs often appear to be derived from their corresponding non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts through the addition of an affix (e.g. Russian, see (8)) or clitic (e.g. French, see (9)).[7]

(8) a. Ivan moet/   celuet   Olgu.
         Ivan washes(trans)/   kisses(trans) Olga
     b. Ivan moet-**sja**.
         Ivan washes-AFF
         'Ivan washes (himself).'
     c. Ivan i   Olga   celujut-**sja**.
         Ivan and Olga   kiss-AFF
         'Ivan and Olga kiss (each other).'

(9) a. Jean lave/   embrasse   Marie.
         Jean washes(trans)/   kisses(trans) Marie
     b. Jean **se**   lave.
         Jean CL   washes.
         'Jean washes (himself).'
     c. Jean et   Marie   **s'**   embrassent.
         Jean and Marie   CL   kiss
         'Jean and Marie kiss (each other).

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[7] Although typical clitics and typical affixes both lack prosodic autonomy, they also exhibit somewhat different behaviour. Thus, unlike typical reflexive/reciprocal affixes, the French *se* may appear attached to the auxiliary rather than to the verb; it may appear in front of other verbal clitics, etc. (see Kayne (1975) for more details). In the present thesis, I will generally put these special properties of *se* aside, unless they are relevant to the discussion.

Reflexive and reciprocal verbs that are morphologically more complex than their non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts constitute the majority, which is in compliance with the idea that coreference of arguments is more marked than non-coreference (Kazenin 2001; cf. Greenberg 1966). A significantly less common option (cross-linguistically) is where reflexive/reciprocal verbs are 'in an equipollent opposition' (Kazenin 2001: 917) with their non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts, in which case neither form is morphologically marked with regards to its counterpart. The forms then differ in inflectional paradigms, e.g. Classical Greek (Kazenin 2001) and Latin (Haiman 1985), verbal templates, e.g. Hebrew (10),[8] or the forms can be homophonous, e.g. English (11). Alternatively, under the widespread view that morphological marking can be phonetically null, reflexive and reciprocal verbs in English can be analyzed as derived from their transitive counterparts via zero-morphology (e.g. Miličević 2007, Siloni 2008); the present thesis adopts this analysis.[9]

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[8] Hebrew reflexive/reciprocal verbs appear in the fifth verbal template, the so-called *hitpael*, while their corresponding non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts appear in other verbal templates. However, Hebrew reflexive/reciprocal verbs are also often described as involving the prefix *hit-* and a modified stem of a different verbal template (e.g. Laks 2007), so they can in principle be viewed as morphologically more complex than their transitive counterparts.

[9] If English reflexive and reciprocal verbs were analyzed as being merely homophonous with their transitive counterparts (i.e. no reflexive/reciprocal morphology is assumed), that would imply that all English reflexive and reciprocal verbs fall in the category of verbs whose reflexivity and reciprocity are inherent to the concepts in question (see section 2.1.). That would be counterintuitive given the nature of these concepts (washing, dressing, kissing, hugging), the crosslinguistic behavior of these verbs and the systematicity of the homophony in English. To this end, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1998) note that relationships between argument structures – as in the case of verbal reflexivization, reciprocalization or middle verbs' formation – are normally given morphological expression cross-linguistically and that English is rather unusual in this respect.

Moreover, in light of the multifunctionality of the detransitivity marker cross-linguistically, the null morphology analysis for English reflexives and reciprocals is supported by the fact that other valence reducing processes in the language employ it as well, see (i-ii). (See Reinhart (2002) for

(10) a. Dan raxac/   nishek   et   Dina.
       Dan washed(1STtemplate)/ kissed(3RDtemplate) ACC Dina

    b. Dan hitraxec.
       Dan washed(5THtemplate)
       'Dan washed (himself).'

    c. Dan ve-   Dina hitnashku.
       Dan and Dina kissed(5THtemplate)
       'Dan and Dina kissed (each other).

(11) a. John washed/kissed Mary.

    b. John washed.

    c. John and Mary kissed.

   There are a few aspects of the analysis of reflexive/reciprocal verbs that I will introduce in this section; they will be discussed in more detail later in chapter 3. First, reflexive/reciprocal verb formation is productive in some languages (e.g. French, Spanish, Serbian), while other languages allow only restricted sets of such verbs (e.g. Russian, Hebrew, English). As demonstrated by the Russian examples below, see (12), if reflexive and reciprocal verbs form closed sets in a language, then they are normally restricted to the so-called *self-directed*, *introverted*, *prototypically reflexive* – often 'grooming' and 'bodily care' verbs, e.g. *wash, shave, dress* (Haiman 1983, Haspelmath 2008, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1998, Siloni 2008), and *prototypically reciprocal* verbs which denote situations of social interaction (Siloni 2008) and frequently mutual actions (Haspelmath 2007), e.g.

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the evidence that *break* intransitive has a valency reducing zero affix rather than *break* transitive having a zero causative affix.)

(i) a. The wind broke the tree.
     b. The tree broke. (unaccusative)
(ii) a. The situation worries Mary.
     b. Marry worries. (experiencing verb)

meet, hug, kiss. (Note that while the reflexive/reciprocal affix is ambiguous, the resulting verbs are not.)

(12) a. Oni   mojut-sja.
           they   wash-refl/rec
           Interpretation: √reflexive, *reciprocal
       b. Oni   celujut-sja.
           they   kiss-refl/rec
           Interpretation: *reflexive, √reciprocal
       c. Oni   risujut-sja.[10]
           they   draw-refl/rec
           Interpretation: *reflexive, *reciprocal
       d. Oni   nenavidjat-sja.
           they   hate-refl/rec
           Interpretation: *reflexive, *reciprocal

It is easy to see that English patterns with Russian, as verbs that can undergo reflexivization and reciprocalization are restricted to the familiar sets (13), cf. Russian (12).[11]

(13) a. They wash.
           Interpretation: √reflexive, *reciprocal

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[10] Here, I deliberately avoid marking (12c) and (12d) as ungrammatical to demonstrate the idea that verbs with reflexive/reciprocal marking may in fact be attested in meanings other than reflexive or reciprocal, including cases when the reflexive/reciprocal meaning is unavailable. Thus the verb *risujut-sja* (12c) is attested but it can only mean 'show off'.

[11] Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1998) speculate that the lack of overt morphology in English might be responsible for the restricted application of these operations, a view which cannot be maintained in light of languages like Russian and Hebrew where overt valence-reducing morphology is available but the application of valence-reducing operations is still restricted.

b. They kiss.

Interpretation: *reflexive, √reciprocal

c. They draw.

Interpretation: *reflexive, *reciprocal

d. They hate.

Interpretation: *reflexive, *reciprocal

Russian and English contrast with languages like French where reflexive and reciprocal verbs are productive and where not just the reflexive marker *se*, but *se*-verbs themselves are ambiguous between the reflexive and reciprocal meaning, see (14).

(14) a. Ils se lavent.

    they refl/rec wash

    'They wash themselves or each other.'

b. Ils s' embrassent.

    they refl/rec kiss

    'They kiss themselves or each other.'

c. Ils se dessinent.

    They refl/rec draw

    'They draw themselves or each other.'

d. Ils se détestent.

    they refl/rec hate

    'They hate themselves or each other.'

Whether the verbal strategy is productive (French) or restricted (Russian, English), it is normally only licit when the suppressed argument is either Theme/Patient (the syntactic realization of the direct object is suppressed) or Goal/Beneficiary/Recipient (the syntactic realization of the dative argument is suppressed), resulting in so-called *direct* and *indirect* reflexives and reciprocal, respectively (cf. Kemmer 1993, Kazenin 2001). Verbs or other predicates with

oblique arguments (i.e. arguments expressed as a prepositional phrase) cannot generally undergo reflexivization/reciprocalization (Kayne 1975, Labelle 2008, Miličević 2007, amongst many others); the nominal strategy often has to be used instead, i.e. a prepositional phrase involving a full reflexive/reciprocal pronoun must surface in the object position (also see section 2.2.3), see (15) (from Labelle (2008)) and (16).[12]

(15) a. Luc   a   peur de   lui-même.
        Luc   has   fear of   himself
     b. *Luc s'   a   peur.
         Luc SE   has   fear
        Intended: 'Luc is afraid of himself'

(16) a. Les   deux dépendent l'un de l'autre.
        the   two   depend   on each other
     b. *Les deux se   dépendent.
         the   two   SE   depend
        Intended: 'The two (people) depend on each other.'

The difference between languages that have closed sets of reflexive and reciprocal verbs and those that derive such verbs productively has been approached from the point of view of generative syntax (e.g. Reinhart & Siloni 2004, 2005, Siloni 2008, 2012) as well as in terms of functional-typological syntax (e.g. Haspelmath 2008). The Lexicon-Syntax parameter (Reinhart & Siloni 2004, 2005, Siloni 2008, 2012) analyzes the productivity difference as a consequence of the difference in the locus of reflexive/reciprocal verb

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[12] I assume that dative objects are DPs (Kayne 1975, Labelle 2008); in particular, the French *à* is a case marker rather than a preposition 'to' (I will nevertheless gloss it as 'to', for convenience).

formation;[13] arity/valence changing operations apply either in syntax (hence, productivity) or in the lexicon (hence, lexically restricted sets of verbs) depending on the language. Roughly, the lexicon is known to be associated with idiosyncrasies (e.g. Wasow 1977), hence lexically restricted sets of reflexives and reciprocals in languages where the two operations apply in the lexicon (e.g. Russian and English). By contrast, regularities are characteristic of syntax, hence the productivity of reflexivization and reciprocalization in languages where these operations apply in syntax (e.g. French).

The proposed parameter also claims to capture a series of additional aspects of cross-linguistic variation attested in the domain of reflexive and reciprocal verbs (see section 3.1 for more details), but it has generally nothing to say as to why the restricted sets tend to be stable across 'lexicon' languages. To this end, Haspelmath (2008) advances a frequency-based account of the contrast observed between introverted vs. extraverted verbs. Briefly, Haspelmath (2008) draws on the idea that certain activities are typically (and perhaps conventionally) directed at oneself or at one another rather than at others (drawing on Faltz (1985) and Haiman (1983), amongst others), which is reflected in language use: verbs denoting such activities occur reflexively or reciprocally more often than other verbs. Speakers are known to reduce predictable expressions (due to economy of effort of a sort) which leads to phonological erosion (and grammaticalization), while they continue to be fully explicit on expressions that are rare (cf. Haiman 1983, Zipf 1935). Indeed, in 'lexicon' languages, extraverted verbs which do not have reflexive/reciprocal counterparts combine with anaphoric expressions to express reflexivity or reciprocity, anaphoric expressions being longer in form (morphologically and phonologically heavier) and etymologically more transparent than verbal affixes/clitics (cf. Burzio 1998, Haspelmath 2007, 2008, König & Siemund 2000). Haspelmath's (2008) approach, however, does not explain why 'syntax' languages exhibit a different pattern of language use; it also does not predict clusters of properties associated with the two types of languages.

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[13] The Lexicon/Syntax split has also been observed in other types of verbs, e.g. middles (Marelj 2004).

Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of the verbal strategy in French, Russian and English, i.e. the three languages which the present thesis focuses on. French is the L2 of Russian- and English-speaking learners considered here; it is then important to bear in mind how verbal markers of reflexivity/reciprocity and reflexive/reciprocal verbs differ across these languages.

Table 1. The Verbal Strategy in French, Russian and English.

	French	Russian	English
Morphological marking	clitic *se*	suffix *-sja*	null
Prototypical reflexive and reciprocal verbs	yes	yes	yes
Other (productive) verbal reflexives and reciprocals	yes	no	no

Having discussed the verbal strategy in some detail, we can now focus more on exactly how it differs from the anaphoric (nominal) strategy of encoding reflexivity and reciprocity.

2.2.3 Nominal Strategies

The second major strategy for encoding reflexivity and reciprocity is through syntactic binding, marking coreferentiality of arguments by means of reflexive and reciprocal anaphors (the so-called nominal, or periphrastic, constructions). As pointed out in section 2.2.1, anaphors represent full syntactic arguments. Most of the studied languages employ either both verbal and nominal strategies, or only the nominal strategy (see section 2.2.4 for details). Thus, both 'lexicon' and 'syntax' languages may express reflexivity and reciprocity via anaphors.[14]

Unlike reflexive and reciprocal verbs, anaphors can occur in a wide range of syntactic configurations. Thus, the verbal strategy is normally restricted to cases where the input entry is a verb with an accusative or dative object, so that

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[14] For Reinhart and Siloni (2005: 398), the anaphoric option is orthogonal to the Lexicon-Syntax parameter.

reflexive/reciprocal anaphors have to be used for obliques.[15] However, the greater freedom of distribution is most clear in the case of 'lexicon' languages where the nominal strategy is the only one available for expressing reflexivity with non-grooming verbs and for expressing reciprocity with non-interaction verbs, see Russian (17) (cf. (12)) and English (18) (cf. (13)). Note that the verbal and anaphoric strategies are often mutually exclusive, i.e. anaphors are usually ruled out in the context of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in many languages, e.g. Russian (19) (but see the case of French further below).[16]

(17) Russian:

a. Oni   risujut   sebja/   drug druga.
   they   draw(trans)   themselves   each other

b. Oni   nenavidjat   sebja/   drug druga..
   they   hate(trans)   themselves   each other

(18) English:

a. They draw themselves/ each other.

b. They hate themselves/ each other

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[15] Although the research on reflexives and reciprocals has not made this explicit, the fact that we do not observe many languages that lack the nominal strategy altogether is a natural consequence of the mentioned tendency to restrict verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization to non-oblique cases, i.e. the anaphoric strategy is required to express reflexivity and reciprocity in oblique cases, at the very least.

[16] Anaphors are acceptable as oblique constituents with discontinuous reciprocal verbs (covered in section 3.1.4), to an extent (e.g. Russian, Hebrew; see Siloni (2012) for discussion).

(19) Russian:

    a. *Ivan   brilsja   sebja   ostorozhno.[17]

       Ivan   shaved(refl)   himself carefully.

At the same time, although either strategy (i.e. verbal or nominal) might be expected to be allowed in 'lexicon' languages as far as grooming and interaction verbs are concerned, additional constraints can be imposed, often at the discourse-pragmatic level, to determine which strategy is ultimately felicitous in which context. In Russian, whenever verbal reflexives are available, see (20a), they are strongly preferred over their corresponding anaphoric variants, see (20b), in neutral contexts. For (20b) to be (more) acceptable, a special discourse context is required, e.g. emphasis or contrastive focus, cf. (20c).

(20) a. Ivan breetsja.

        Ivan shaves(refl)

    b. #Ivan   breet   sebja.

        Ivan   shaves(trans) himself

    c. (Ivan is a barber.)

        Ivan breet   sebja   luchshe chem (on breet)   svoikh klientov.

        Ivan shaves(trans) himself better   than he shaves(trans) his   clients

Moreover, if the context implies that a grooming activity that is normally expressed with a reflexive verb is carried out in a non-routine fashion, the anaphoric variant becomes felicitous, too. For example, difficulty carrying out such activity (e.g. when the actor is a child or a disabled person) or its extreme

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[17] Although the Russian suffix is ambiguous between the reflexive and reciprocal readings, the resulting verbs are not, since the sets of verbs undergoing reflexivization and reciprocalization do not overlap (as discussed in section 2.2.2). From now on, only the actual meaning will be glossed for Russian verbs, for simplicity.

intensity may contribute to a non-routine scenario, see (21).[18] (See also Miličević (2007) for discussion of similar contexts and discourse-pragmatic requirements.)

(21) [There was no shaver or razor, so Ivan used a sharp knife to shave himself.]
      Ivan bril   sebja   ostorozhno.
      Ivan shaved himself carefully.

As far as English is concerned, Miličević (2007) refers to Kemmer (1993) and Jakubowicz (1994) who mention preferences along the same lines for English (e.g. in *dressed* vs. *dressed himself*), but ultimately concludes that English allows reflexivity and reciprocity to be expressed via anaphoric expressions freely (even given the availability of the corresponding verbal reflexives and reciprocals), and that reflexive and reciprocal anaphors are not subject to any clear discourse conditions.[19]

Turning now to French, it is quite striking that – unlike Russian and English – it virtually disallows transitives with anaphors (e.g. Kayne 1975, Labelle 2008, amongst many others).[20] Crucially, no pragmatic/discourse considerations can rescue anaphors in the absence of *se*. In other words, the reflexive pronoun *lui-même* 'himself' and the reciprocal pronoun *l'un l'autre* are not used as direct objects independently of the reflexive/reciprocal *se*, see (22).[21, 22]

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[18] No context can rescue anaphors in the context of reflexive and reciprocal verbs, see (19).

[19] This might be (partially) due to the lack of overt reflexive/reciprocal marking in English; since reflexive and reciprocal verbs in English appear to be ambiguous between an intransitive and a transitive reading, anaphors should generally contribute to disambiguation and therefore should be used more readily than in languages with overt reflexive/reciprocal marking.

[20] This property of French could in principle be related to the mentioned productivity of verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization. However some 'syntax' languages license both productive reflexives and reciprocals and transitive anaphoric constructions, e.g. Serbian (Miličević 2007).

[21] More precisely, this is true of not just transitives, but of all verbs that are able to undergo reflexivization/reciprocalization, i.e. verbs with accusative or dative anaphors are ungrammatical

(22) a. Il *(se) lave   lui-même.[23]

    he SE washes himself

    b. Il *(se) dessine lui-même.

    he SE draws   himself

    c. Ils   *(se) lavent   l'un l'autre.

    they   SE wash   each other

    d. Ils   *(se) dessinent   l'un l'autre.

    they   SE draw   each other

Whenever anaphors are used with *se*-verbs, French is similar (to an extent) to Russian in terms of their discourse-pragmatic licensing. Reflexive anaphors often introduce object contrast, i.e. they place focus on the object and contrast it with possible alternatives; thus in (23a) the deputy would be expected to copy other people and he would be expected to talk to other people in (23b). Reciprocal anaphors may also introduce contrast but are more often used to force the reciprocal interpretation, see (24). (The examples are from Labelle (2008).) One important   difference   is   that   since   French   verbal   reflexivization   and

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in the absence of *se*. Exceptions are generally rare, see for example (i). Also, see Kayne (1975) for more examples and discussion.

(i) Il ne   voit   que   lui-même.

    he NEG sees   that   himself

[22] Other Romance languages, or more generally 'syntax' languages, may differ in this respect. Thus, Italian allows transitives with reflexive anaphors, but not with reciprocal ones (e.g. Belletti 1982, Cordin 1989, Miličević 2007). Although I will occasionally refer to this 'doubling' property of French reflexives and reciprocals, the present thesis does not focus on it directly and will not aim at an analysis that would necessarily account for it.

[23] From now on, the reflexive/reciprocal *se* will be glossed as SE for simplicity. Also note that although French *se*-verbs are generally ambiguous between the reflexive and reciprocal readings, translations will occasionally reflect only one reading, in particular when the second reading is orthogonal to the discussion at that point.

reciprocalization are productive, such discourse-pragmatic licensing of anaphoric constructions applies to all verbs rather than only to grooming and interaction ones.

(23) a. Le   ministre se copie   lui-même.
          the   deputy   SE imitates himself
          'The deputy imitates himself.'
      b. Le   ministre se parle à   lui-même.
          the   deputy   SE talks to himself
          'The deputy talks to himself.'

(24) a. Les   voisins   se détestent   les uns les autres.
          the   neighbours   SE detest the   each other
          'The neighbours detest each other.'
      b. Les   jeunes   se parlent   les uns aux autres.
          the   young people SE speak   to each other
          'The young people speak to each other.'

   To summarize, table 2 presents the main characteristics of the verbal and anaphoric strategies in French, Russian and English.[24] As mentioned, the French verbal marker *se* is often misanalyzed as a reflexive/reciprocal anaphoric pronoun and the present thesis focuses on whether Russian- and English-speaking L2 learners of French adopt this misanalysis. It is then important to understand exactly how the two strategies compare across these languages. This issue will be re-addressed in section 3.1.6 (in light of the more detailed discussion of verbal reflexives and reciprocals in chapter 3).

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[24] As far as reflexive anaphors are concerned, the three languages also differ in the following respect: the English *X-self* and the French *X-même* are morphologically complex while the Russian *sebja* is a simplex anaphor. This difference is not generally relevant to the present thesis.

Table 2. The Verbal and Anaphoric Strategies in French, Russian and English.

	French	Russian	English
Verbal Strategy	clitic *se*	suffix *-sja*	null morphology
	Productive, restricted to non-oblique cases	Restricted to 'grooming' and 'interaction' verbs and to non-oblique cases	
Anaphoric Strategy	Clitic doubling obligatory	Impossible with the verbal marker[25], otherwise productive	
	Subject to discourse-pragmatic licensing		No disc./pragmatic requirements

2.2.4 Important Crosslinguistic Observation

Coexistence of the verbal and nominal strategies in one language is not universal (Kazenin 2001, amongst others) and language variation is restricted in an intriguing way. For example, among languages allowing only one of the strategies, languages banning anaphoric constructions (arguably, certain polysynthetic languages; see Baker (1996)) constitute a minority.[26] Moreover, the split between languages that have verbal reflexives and reciprocals and that lack them correlates with the split between the so-called *valence-decreasing* and *valence-increasing* languages (Kazenin 2001).

Roughly, valence-decreasing languages are languages that systematically exhibit morphological marking for verbs with a decreased number of arguments (e.g. unaccusatives, experiencing verbs, middles); by contrast, valence-increasing languages tend to productively mark verbs with an increased number of arguments (e.g. causatives). As shown by Haspelmath (1993), languages where

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[25] Since the verbal marker is null in English, this can in fact only be claimed to hold of Russian.

[26] Kazenin (2001) refers to Baker's (1996) example of Mohawk, which disallows transitive constructions with anaphors, but (apparently) allowing anaphors in other contexts. This sounds reminiscent of the situation in French where transitive constructions with anaphors are also ungrammatical (see section 2.2.3). Ojibwe and Chol seem to lack the nominal strategy altogether (Lisa Travis, personal communication).

both derivational processes are equally productive are remarkably infrequent. Drawing on this typological observation, since the verbal reflexive/reciprocal strategy decreases the number of arguments of the verb, languages preferring valence-decreasing verbal morphology (e.g. French, Russian, English) are expected to have verbal reflexives and reciprocals, while languages that prefer valence-increasing verbal morphology (e.g. Indonesian, languages of the Nakh-Daghestanian family) are expected to lack them. Although, there exists no systematic study of this problem, this prediction seems to be borne out, based on a preliminary survey of a number of languages from each type of verbal morphology (Kazenin 2001).[27] In fact, as discussed in previous sections, the same multifunctional detransitivity morphology is often used for valence-decreasing derivational processes in the former type of languages, e.g. (25-26).

(25) French:
    a. Reflexives/reciprocals: *se laver* 'wash(refl/rec)', *s'embrasser* 'kiss(refl/rec)'
    b. Unaccusative verbs: *se casser* 'break', *se trouver* 'be situated'
    c. Experiencing verbs: *se dépêcher* 'hurry', *s'ennuyer* 'to get bored'
    d. Middles: *(bien) se vendre* '(easily/well) sell'

(26) Russian:
    a. Reflexives/reciprocals: *myt'sja* 'wash(refl)', *celovat'sja* 'kiss(rec)'
    b. Unaccusative verbs: *lomat'sja* 'break', *nakhodit'sja* 'be situated'
    c. Experiencing verbs: *toropit'sja* 'hurry'
    d. Middles: *(khorosho) prodavat'sja* '(easily/well) sell'

While discussion of how this correlation is captured in generative terms is beyond the scope of the present thesis, I will assume it is derivable from UG in one way or another. In particular, children acquiring their native language will not

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[27] However, see Carrier-Duncan (1985) for a potential counterexample (Tagalog).

hypothesize that it lacks verbal reflexives and reciprocals if the same language provides clear evidence that it is valence-decreasing otherwise.[28] The punch line relevant for the present thesis is that the same generalization should hold for domain-specific language acquisition more generally, i.e. for adult L2 acquisition under a UG-access approach. I will come back to this point in chapter 5.

2.3 Against Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs as Transitive Constructions

The reflexive/reciprocal marker *se* in French (and in Romance languages, more generally) is sometimes treated as a reflexive/reciprocal anaphoric pronoun (i.e. *se* is (or, in some versions of the analysis, binds) the internal argument), more so in pedagogical literature but also occasionally by linguists (e.g. Burzio 1986, D'Alessandro 2001, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, Doron & Rappaport Hovav 2007, Fontana & Moore 1992, Jones 1996, Kayne 1975, Rizzi 1986, Waltereit 2000). The present section starts out with discussion of some of the reliable diagnostics showing that the clitic *se* does not behave on a par with true object clitic pronouns.

2.3.1 Why Treat *Se* as an Object Pronoun?

Reflexive anaphors are often (in particular in the Government and Binding (GB) framework (Chomsky 1981)) divided into morphologically complex (or

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[28] For example, consistent valence-deceasing morphology could be associated with a particular feature which is also responsible for verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization (e.g. creation of a one-place predicate in lieu of a two-place predicate). Unfortunately, the cited crosslinguistic observation has only been discussed in the context of traditional linguistic typology and there are no articulated proposals in generative linguistics to this effect.

It has been also noticed that children are quite sensitive to the fact that *se* is involved in the derivation of other intransitives and they may be reluctant to postulate syncretism between an anaphor and what otherwise appears to be a detransitivity marker (Marc-Ariel Friedemann, p.c. to Tal Siloni). On the other hand, the French *me* is clearly ambiguous between the 1st person singular clitic pronoun and and an allomorph of the reflexive/reciprocal *se*, and children do not appear to mind syncretism in this case. Moreover, syncretism is involved in the two uses of the Dutch *zich* where homophony masks two different uses: a verbal marker of lexical reflexivization and a long distance simplex anaphor (Reinhart & Reuland 1993, Reinhart & Siloni 2005).

compound) reflexives (e.g. *X-self* anaphors in English) and simplex (or non-compound/mono-morphemic) ones (e.g. *zibun* in Japanese), based on Pica (1987). In this framework, most reflexive mono-morphemic markers – except those that are clearly a part of verbal morphology (e.g. the Russian suffix *-sja*, the Hebrew prefix *hit-*) – are analyzed as simplex anaphors, including reflexive clitics in Romance and some Slavic (e.g. Czech, Serbo-Croatian) languages, the element *zich/sich* in Dutch and German (respectively), etc.

Before considering evidence that strongly suggests that the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* does not behave on a par with object clitic pronouns and hence cannot be viewed as a pronominal clitic synchronically, I will briefly address arguments that are typically invoked to support this ultimately inadequate pronominal analysis of *se*. Most notably, *se* does look like a pronominal clitic superficially in that it appears to have a similar distribution to such clitics. In addition, *se* resembles object clitic pronouns morphologically; in particular, most of its allomorphs are homophonous to object clitic pronouns; see Labelle (2008), Miličević (2007) and Sportiche (1990/1998), amongst many others, for similar observations. Thus, the clitic *me* is an object pronoun in (27) but it is an allomorph of the detransitivity marker *se* in (28).[29]

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[29] There exists a whole body of research regarding the nature of pronominal clitics, i.e. whether or not they (i) are base-generated in their surface position (e.g. Borer 1984, Jaeggli 1982, 1986, Rivas 1977, Strozer 1976), (ii) are moved to their surface position from an underlying argument position (e.g. Belletti 1999, Kayne 1975), (iii) involve both base-generation and movement (e.g. Sportiche 1996). This debate is largely orthogonal to the discussion; however, for concreteness, I will adopt a view along the lines of Sportiche (1996), where pronominal clitics are base-generated as heads of their own projections (situated quite high in the clause) and bear a (specificity) feature which needs to be checked against a (specific) DP in their specifier. In French, the said DP is *pro* which is base-generated as the verb's internal argument. It then moves to the specifier of the projection headed by the clitic where feature checking takes place. Thus, although pronominal clitics do not have argumental status themselves, they are associated with a null category that does. If *se* is viewed as a pronominal clitic, this implies an analysis of *se* along the same line, mutatis mutandis. Having said that, I will still refer to pronominal clitics as pronouns and arguments of the verb, for simplicity.

(27) Lucie **me** rase.

    Lucie   me   shave

    'Lucie shaves me.'

(28) Je **me** rase.

    I   SE   *shave*

    I shave (myself).

In addition, as discussed in section 2.2.2, French verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization are remarkably productive, which again encourages the superficial analogy with clitic pronouns (unsurprisingly, true clitic pronouns can also be productively combined with verbs).

Certain participial agreement facts are also often taken as evidence in favour of the object analysis of *se*. In particular, there is a difference in past participle agreement in *se* reflexives and reciprocals between cases where accusative arguments are suppressed and where dative arguments are suppressed. As pedagogical literature often puts it (see appendix D for discussion and references), while participle agreement in compound tenses is triggered when *se* stands for the direct object (29b), participle agreement does not take place when *se* stands for the indirect object (29c), cf. (29a) (the examples are from Sportiche 1990/1998).

(29) a. Marie   a décrit   les   robes   aux   filles

       Mary(fem) described   the   dresses(fem)   to+the   girls(fem)

    b. Marie   s'   est décrit*(E)   aux filles.

       Marie   SE   described   to the girls

       'Marie described herself to the girls.'

    c. Marie   s'   est décrit(*E)   les   robes.

       Marie   SE   described   the   dresses

       'Marie described the dresses to herself.'

Note that true object clitic pronouns are normally claimed to behave similarly: accusative clitics trigger past participle agreement in French (30a), while dative clitics do not (30b).[30, 31]

(30) a. Marie   les   a décrit*(ES)   aux filles.
        Marie   them.ACC   described   to the girls
        'Marie described them to the girls.'
    b. Marie   leur   a décrit(*ES)   les   robes.
        Marie   them.DAT   described   the   dresses
        'Marie described the dresses to them.'

In sum, the analysis of *se* as an object pronoun is based on a number of observations. At the same time, none of these observations necessitate the pronominal analysis of *se*, under closer inspection. The superficially similar

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[30] However, there are also important differences between *se* and true pronominal clitics as far as these agreement facts are concerned. Sportiche (1990/1998) notes that at least in some French dialects agreement triggered by accusative clitics is optional, while agreement triggered by *se* is obligatory.

[31] A different version of the account is sometimes also offered in pedagogical literature: in sentences with the auxiliary verb *être* 'be' (e.g. in the case of reflexives and reciprocals), the participle obligatorily agrees with the subject, while in sentences with the auxiliary verb *avoir* 'have' (e.g. in the case of transitives), the participle agrees with the direct object if the object precedes the participle (see Sportiche (1990/1998) for discussion). If this guideline is adopted, then something special needs to be said about cases where *se* corresponds to a dative argument, i.e. that agreement with the subject is somehow banned in such cases, while agreement with direct objects preceding the participle does take place, see (ia) vs. (ib).

(i) a. Marie s'   est décrit(*E) les robes.
       Marie SE   described   the dresses
       'Marie described the dresses to herself.'
    b. Marie se   les   est décrit*(ES).
       Marie SE   them.ACC   described
       'Marie described them to herself.'

distribution and morphological similarity are readily explained by the fact that diachronically *se* did start out as a true pronominal clitic; this etymological link however does not imply that *se* should be treated as an object pronoun synchronically. The productivity of *se* does not entail the pronominal analysis either; as we saw in section 2.2.2, it can be alternatively taken as evidence for the syntactic nature of verbal reflexivization/reciprocalization in French. Lastly, the participial agreement facts are closely linked to auxiliary selection, and the two phenomena need to be understood better before one can use them as a reliable diagnostic (Reinhart and Siloni 2004, amongst others).

2.3.2 Against *Se* as an Object Pronoun: Diagnostics used in the Experiment

2.3.2.1 Introductory Remarks

Despite apparent similarity between object clitics and *se* discussed in the previous section, there has been accumulated substantial evidence against an object/pronoun analysis of *se*.

To begin with, if Romance reflexive clitics are pronouns they must be analyzed as simplex anaphors, based on Pica's (1987) classification. Note, however, that simplex anaphors in many languages allow long-distance binding (Pica 1987), while Romance reflexive clitics require a local antecedent (in GB terms; e.g. see Connell and Franks (1991)), see (31), with the exception of ECM environments. To provide more details, simplex anaphors are analyzed as heads X^o and raise by (LF) head movement to Infl. Since raising to Infl may occur cyclically, simplex anaphors are predicted to allow long-distance binding, which is indeed true of genuine simplex anaphors, such as *zibun* in Japanese. Importantly, if Romance reflexive clitics are analyzed as detransitivity reflexive/reciprocal markers on intransitive verbs rather than pronouns/simplex anaphors, they are no longer exceptions to Pica's (1987) generalization.

(31) French:

*Paul$_i$ demande à Pierre de se$_i$ raser.

Paul asks to Pierre prep SE shave(inf)

Intended meaning: *Paul$_i$ asks Pierre to shave himself$_i$.

Additional evidence against a pronoun analysis of *se* draws on syntactic diagnostics which demonstrate that *se* reflexives and reciprocals behave differently from verbs combined with regular pronominal clitics. To list just a few common arguments of this type, consider causative constructions (Kayne 1975), expletive insertion/NP extraposition (Kayne 1975) and subject-verb inversion (Wehrli 1986)[32].

In particular, the causative constructions in (32) illustrate that while the transitive construction *la laver* 'wash her' behaves just like the transitive *laver Marie* 'wash Marie' (the subject must be introduced by the preposition *à* 'to'), see (32a-b), 'the reflexive *se laver* 'wash (oneself)' behaves like the intransitive verb *danser* (no preposition is required), see (32c-d).[33]

(32) a. Je ferai laver Marie à Paul

I make.FUT wash Marie to Paul

'I will make Paul wash Marie.

b. Je la ferai laver à Paul.

I him make.FUT wash to Paul

'I will make Paul wash her.'

c. Je ferai danser Paul.

I make.FUT dance Paul

'I will make Paul eat.'

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[32] Additional diagnostics in languages other than French involve depictive adjectives (Siloni 2012), agreeing adjuncts (Miličević 2007), infinitive nominalization (Alsina 1996) and left dislocation (Miličević (2007), drawing on Renzi (1988) and Rosen (1988)).

[33] Examples (32) and (33) are adopted from Reinhart & Siloni (2005), with minor changes.

d. Je ferai   se laver Paul.

   I   make.FUT   SE wash Paul

   'I will make Paul wash (himself).'

The same point can be made regarding the context of expletive insertion. As noted by Kayne (1975), impersonal constructions, such as in (33) below, are rejected with transitive verbs, see (33b), but they are allowed with intransitives, see (33a), and with reflexive/reciprocal verbs, see (33c) (although judgments vary among speakers).

(33) a. Il   est arrivé   trois filles.

       there arrived   three girls

       'There arrived three girls.'

    b. *Il   les   a dénoncés trois mille   femmes   ce   mois-ci.

       there   them denounced three thousand   women   this   month-here

       'Three thousand women denounced them this month.'

    c. (?)Il   s' est dénoncé   trois mille   femmes   ce   mois-ci.

       there SE denounced   three thousand   women   this   month-here

       'Three thousand women denounced themselves this month'

There has also been reported a contrast in the possibility of subject-verb inversion in *wh*-constructions, which is more natural with *se* reflexives and reciprocals, see (34a), than with transitive constructions involving verbs with accusative clitics, see (34b) (Wehrli 1986).

(34) a. Je me demande   comment   s'   est rasé Paul.

       I   wonder   how   SE   shaved Paul

       'I wonder how Paul shaved himself.'

    b. ??Je me demande   comment   les   a rasés   Paul.

       I   wonder   how   them shaved Paul

       'I wonder how Paul shaved them.'

In the next three sections, I provide details on three other constructions where *se* and object clitics do not behave on a par; these three constructions are used in the experiment reported on in chapters 5-7.

2.3.2.2 Derived Subjects: Passives and Raising Predicates

Reflexive and reciprocal clitics cannot appear in constructions with derived subjects (e.g. Burzio 1986, Kayne 1975), which presents significant evidence against an object analysis of the reflexive/reciprocal *se*. Consider (35) and (36); since *se* reflexives and reciprocals are subject-oriented, note that subject-oriented anaphors are grammatical in such contexts (e.g. the Japanese *zibun*, see Siloni (2012) for more details and examples). Therefore, if *se* were a pronominal clitic, one would expect it to be grammatical in passive constructions and with raising verbs, just like true pronominal clitics in French are, see (35b) and (36b), contrary to fact, cf. (35a) and (36a). Note also that these constructions can also be grammatical with true (strong) reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in place of *se*, see (35c). The evidence from constructions with derived subjects then suggests that *se* cannot be treated as an object pronoun.

(35) a. *Brigitte   et   Marc   se   sont présentés   par   Una.
        Brigitte   and   Marc   SE   are   presented   by   Una
        Intended: 'Bridget and Mark are presented to each other by Una.'

   b. Brigitte   et   Marc   nous sont présentés   par   Una.
      Brigitte   and   Marc   us   are   presented   by   Una
      'Brigitte and Marc are presented to us by Una.'

   c. Brigitte   et   Marc   sont présentés   l'un à l'autre   par   Una.
      Brigitte   and   Marc   are   presented   to one another   by   Una
      'Brigitte and Marc are presented to each other by Una.'

(36) a. *Ils   se   semblent   intelligents.
        they   SE   seem   clever
        Intended: 'They seem clever to each other/themselves.'

b. Ils   nous semblent   intelligents.

   they us   seem   clever

   'They seem clever to us.'

2.3.2.3 Adjectival Constructions

Kayne (1975) observes a series of asymmetries in French in the behaviour of pronominal clitics, on the one hand, and the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se*, on the other hand. While certain constructions where such asymmetries are found (most notably, passives and raising predicates discussed above) have been repeatedly referred to by different authors (Grimshaw 1990, Pesetsky 1995, Reinhart & Siloni 2005, Sportiche 1991/1998, to name just a few), adjectives with dative arguments have been largely left out of discussion. Briefly, the relevant observation is that while clitic object pronouns, such as *nous* 'us', are licensed with adjectives like *infidèle* 'unfaithful', see (37b), the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* is 'generally considered ungrammatical' (Kayne 1975: 172) in the same context, see (37a). Note also that, as before, true subject-oriented anaphors are grammatical with adjectives in other languages; similarly, adjectives with dative arguments are also possible with true (strong) reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in place of *se*, see (37c).

(37) a. *?Ils   se   sont infidèles.

         they   SE   are   unfaithful

      Intended: 'They are unfaithful to each other (or to themselves).'

   b. Ils   nous sont infidèles.

      they us   are   unfaithful

      'They are unfaithful to us.'

   c. Ils   sont infidels   l'un à l'autre/   à eux-mêmes.

      they are   unfaithful   to each other/   to themselves

      'They are unfaithful to each other/to themselves.'

It should be noted that the ungrammaticality of *se* with adjectives is not as robust as sometimes assumed (cf. Jones 1996); to be precise, *se* adjectives are of marginal grammaticality. Nevertheless, true pronominal clitics are unquestionably grammatical with the same type of adjectives; as a result, this asymmetry in the behaviour of the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* vs. pronominal clitics suggests that *se* is not a pronominal clitic.

2.3.2.4 Comparative Ellipsis Constructions

Another construction where the French *se* does not behave on a par with object clitic pronouns is the ellipsis construction (e.g. Siloni 2012), first referred to by Zec (1985) for similar data in Serbo-Croatian. The idea is that since *se* is not the syntactic object/argument of the verb, it cannot be (or is not readily) referred to by the comparative remnant; the latter can refer to the subject or to true object clitic pronouns in transitive constructions (38a) resulting in ambiguity, but (usually) only to the subject in the case of reflexive and reciprocal verbs (38b).

(38) French:

    a. Lucie et   Louise nous rencontrent   plus souvent que leurs frères.

      Lucie and Louise us   meet(trans)   more often   than their brothers

      (i) Subject reading:

        'Lucie and Louise meet us more often than their brothers meet us.'

      (ii) Object reading:

        'Lucie and Louise meet us more often than they meet their brothers.'

b. Lucie et   Louise   se rencontrent   plus souvent que leurs frères.

Lucie and   Louise   SE meet   more often   than their brothers

(i) Subject/sloppy reading:

'Lucie and Louise meet more often than their brothers meet.'

(ii) Object reading:

??'Lucie and Louise meet more often than they meet their brothers.'

(iii) 'Strict' reading: [34]

?*'Lucie and Louise meet more often than their brothers meet them.'

The existing literature does not provide any explanation as to why the object reading in comparative ellipsis constructions with (French) *se* reflexives and reciprocals is not ruled out completely but is perceived as marginally possible. In fact, the object reading is normally presented as unavailable altogether (e.g. Siloni 2012). I will offer an account that addresses this issue in section 3.3.

2.3.3 Evidence from L1 Acquisition

Evidence against the transitive analysis of French reflexive and reciprocal verbs presented in section 2.3.2 comes from syntactic diagnostics. If the view of these *se*-verbs as intransitives is indeed on the right track, it predicts that *se* and object clitic pronouns should be treated differently in L1 acquisition. This prediction is borne out. Thus, (non-reflexive) object clitics emerge in production significantly later than reflexive clitics, between the ages of 2;6 and 3;0, object drop being the most common error (see, for example, Paradis et al. (2005/2006: 40), based on a large body of sources cited therein). This difference also calls for a different analysis of the two types of clitics; in particular, in the light of the

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[34] Although in the so-called strict reading the comparative remnant refers to the subject, reference to *se* as an object is still required, as clear from the translation. Therefore, the strict reading is not allowed when the object reading is disallowed (e.g. Siloni 2012). From now on I will ignore the possibility of this reading.

diagnostics discussed in the previous sections, this piece of information provides further evidence against the pronominal analysis of *se*.

2.4 Against Unaccusative Derivation of Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

A number of linguists have concluded that reflexive and reciprocal verbs have an unaccusative derivation, i.e. their subjects are base-generated as internal arguments, rather than being unergative. In the unaccusative analysis, *se* is said to absorb the external argument of the verb while the internal argument moves to the surface subject position (Bouchard 1984, Grimshaw 1990, Kayne 1988, Marantz 1984, McGinnis 1999, Pesetsky 1995, Rosen 1989, Sportiche 1990/1998).[35] Proponents of the unaccusative approach often support their analysis with evidence such as verbal morphology (in many languages unaccusatives and reflexive/reciprocal verbs share the same verbal morphology), auxiliary selection (unaccusatives and reflexive/reciprocal verbs select *be* rather than *have*, at least in some languages, e.g. French and Italian) and certain agreement facts. However, as noted in Reinhart and Siloni (2004), the fact that different diatheses of a verb may surface with the same morphological form does not immediately indicate that they share the same derivation; as for agreement facts, they are mostly contingent on auxiliary selection, which is in turn a quite intricate matter and is far from being well-understood.

As far as syntactic evidence is concerned, the ungrammaticality of *se* in constructions with derived subjects (passives and constructions with raising verbs) discussed above has been appealed to by proponents of the unaccusative view, but these constructions do not in fact discriminate between unaccusative and unergative analyses of French reflexives and reciprocals. Under the unaccusative view, the reflexive/reciprocal *se* absorbs the external argument (and the internal

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[35] While the external role is said to be suppressed in the lexicon (by *se*, a valence reducing morpheme) in Bouchard (1984), Grimshaw (1990), Marantz (1984) and Rosen (1989), it is assumed to be present in syntax via *se* (*se* absorbs or bears the external role) in Kayne (1988), McGinnis (1999), Pesetsky (1995) and Sportiche (1990/1998).

argument moves to the subject position, as a result); since the external argument is not available in passive and raising constructions, reflexivization/reciprocalization of constructions with derived subjects is predicted to be ungrammatical. On the other hand, any unergative analysis that hinges on the availability of the external argument also predicts that reflexive and reciprocal derivations should not be compatible with derived subjects. Thus, in Siloni's (2012) unergative analysis of French reflexive and reciprocal verbs (discussed in detail in chapter 3), the external theta-role and the internal theta-roles are both assigned to the external argument in the subject position.

Additionally, the subject of reflexive and reciprocal verbs fails common tests diagnosing internal arguments (Reinhart & Siloni 2004, Reinhart & Siloni 2005). Unaccusativity tests that reflexive and reciprocal verbs fail include partitive *en/ne*-cliticization (French, Italian); reduced relatives with past participles (French, Italian), postverbal subjects in simple inversion (Hebrew), modification by possessive datives (Hebrew), Genitive of Negation (Russian), derivation of agent (*-er*) nominals (English); see Siloni (2012) for more details and examples of these constructions.

Finally, reflexive and reciprocal verbs are also remarkably different from unaccusatives in that the reflexivization and reciprocalization may act on dative arguments (Labelle 2008, Sportiche 1990/1998). Since there exist reflexives and reciprocals where the syntactic realization of a dative argument is suppressed, their analysis should involve raising of the dative object to the subject position under the unaccusative approach; we should then also expect dative objects to surface in subject position in unaccusatives (as well as in middles and passives), contrary to fact (Labelle 2008).

To conclude, the present thesis views reflexive and reciprocal verbs as intransitive, and more specifically, unergative verbs, based on important evidence discussed above.

2.5 Summary

In sum, the present thesis deals with derived reflexive and reciprocal verbs that express actual semantic reflexivity and reciprocity. This chapter has discussed basic properties of these verbs in French, Russian and English and shows how they compare to constructions involving anaphoric pronouns. It has been argued that reflexive and reciprocal verbs are unergatives, and the clitic *se* in particular cannot be analyzed as an anaphoric pronoun from the linguistic point of view.

3. Reflexivity and Reciprocity in French, Russian and English

This chapter examples two different approaches to reflexives and reciprocals, the first in terms of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter and the second in terms of the L-syntax/S-syntax distinction. Starting with the Lexicon-Syntax parameter approach (Reinhart and Siloni 2004, 2005, Siloni 2008, 2012), this parameter captures the productivity facts described in chapter 2 by proposing that languages differ as to the locus of reflexivization and reciprocalization, in the syntax vs. the lexicon. Alongside differing levels of productivity, reflexives and reciprocals in the two types of languages also differ in other respects; the cluster of distinctions follows neatly from the assumption about the component of the grammar where the operations apply. For example, only in 'syntax' languages can the operations of reflexivization and reciprocalization affect complex predicates (see section 3.1.2), allow direct objects (see section 3.1.3), and disallow reciprocals in the so-called discontinuous construction (see section 3.1.4); both reflexives and reciprocals normally share semantic drifts and idiomatic expressions with their transitive counterparts (see section 3.1.5); reciprocals can denote asymmetric events (see section 3.1.4). By contrast, in 'lexicon' languages verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization are incompatible with complex predicates (section 3.1.2) and direct objects (section 3.1.3), discontinuous reciprocals are grammatical (section 3.1.4); reflexives and reciprocals may show semantic drifts and may appear in idiomatic expressions not shared by their transitive counterparts (section 3.1.5); reciprocals have to denote symmetric events (section 3.1.4). While not all these properties are explored in the L2 experiment (only productivity and complex predicates are), the whole cluster needs to be discussed to understand the arguments in favour of the revised analysis in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

Whether or not the Lexicon-Syntax framework proves ultimately correct, this proposal provides a reasonable (and falsifiable) hypothesis. It also provides a convenient descriptive tool which I use to introduce further properties of reflexive and reciprocal verbs and to re-address the question of exactly how the verbal

strategy compares to the anaphoric strategy in French, Russian and English (section 3.1.6). At the same time, I will argue that the Lexicon-Syntax parameter faces a number of problems and that the major insights of this parameter can be recaptured in the L-syntax/S-syntax framework (section 3.2). I conclude with a detailed analysis of properties and diagnostics relevant for the experimental part of the thesis (section 3.3).

Although much of the theoretical account worked out in detail in the present chapter is ultimately orthogonal to the experimental part of the thesis, it contributes to our understanding of how the underlying phenomena should be captured. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that 'the extent to which any type of L2 research is tied to the particular technicalities of specific linguistic analyses is the extent to which it risks being undercut by a better theory around the corner' (Schwartz and Sprouse 2000: 158). I leave a number of issues (not directly relevant for the acquisition part of the thesis) for future research.

3.1 Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs in the Lexicon-Syntax Parameter

3.1.1 Reflexive and Reciprocal Derivations in 'Syntax' and 'Lexicon' Languages

A number of specific claims and assumptions are associated with the formulation of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter most of which have to do with the exact mechanisms responsible for reflexive and reciprocal derivations in the two types of languages.

I will start with 'syntax' languages. Briefly, a morphological marker (e.g. *se* in French) is responsible for reducing case associated with the internal argument which prevents the latter from mapping onto its canonical position. As a result, the unassigned role is retained on the verbal projection until the merger of the external argument; its assignment to the subject is parasitic on the assignment of the Agent role.[1] This is claimed to be a last resort mechanism which has to be morphologically (overtly) marked (*se* in French). To illustrate this derivation,

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[1] Reflexive and reciprocal verbs are then clearly unergative under this approach.

consider the French reflexive/reciprocal verb *se détester* 'hate oneself/each other'. *Détester* 'hate' is a transitive verb with two θ-roles (i.e. Agent/Experiencer and Theme); the derivation of the reflexive/reciprocal verb also involves *se* which arguably reduces the verb's ability to check accusative case. The lack of accusative then prevents the Theme argument from mapping onto the object position, and the internal role continues to be retained on the verbal projection. Now consider what happens when the external argument is merged in a simple sentence involving the reflexive verb *se detester*, such as (1). First, once the subject *Paul* is merged, the Agent/Experiencer role is discharged; next, the retained Theme role is also assigned to the same argument, as a last resort. Although Siloni (2012) is not explicit about it, the idea is that upon merger of the external argument, the computational system realizes that it will soon complete the CP phase. For a derivation to converge, all the roles have to be discharged prior to Transfer to the semantic interface, which triggers the last resort mechanism of non-standard θ-assignment of the retained role.[2]

(1)   Paul se déteste.
      Paul SE hates
      'Paul hates himself.'

As mentioned (section 2.2), reflexivization and reciprocalization can act on dative arguments as well. Consider the reflexive/reciprocal verb *se parler* 'talk to oneself/each other', where the input entry is the verb *parler* 'talk' which requires a dative object. Such reflexives and reciprocals are derived similarly to input-transitive verbs discussed above, since *se* is presumably a general case reducer. In other words, *se* is not selective regarding case and can reduce accusative or dative (e.g. Reinhart & Siloni 2005).

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[2] Indeed, Siloni (2012) words this differently, namely, as a requirement whereby all roles have to be discharged within 'the smallest full (non EPP-deficient) TP'. As is, such requirement appears to be ad hoc.

To conclude, the role of the morphological marking in 'syntax' languages (such as *se* in French) is two-fold: it checks off case and also licenses/marks the unconventional procedure of θ-role merging. It is proposed that the last resort mechanism of parasitic theta-assignment has to be licensed by overt morphology. 'Syntax' languages then contrast with 'lexicon' languages in that the latter do not involve parasitic θ-assignment and can therefore make use of null reflexive/reciprocal morphology (e.g. English).

Let us now see how reflexivization and reciprocalization work in 'lexicon' languages. While in 'syntax' languages two distinct roles, namely Agent and Theme, are assigned to the same argument, 'lexicon' languages involve a complex [Agent-Theme(Goal)] role formation in the lexicon, which is labelled 'bundling'. To word this differently, while the derivation of reflexives and reciprocals in 'syntax' languages starts out with the same number of θ-roles as derivations of their non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts, reflexives and reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages leave the lexicon and enter syntax as already intransitive verbs with one bundled role assigned to the subject. As far as case is concerned, it is proposed that all valence reducing operations applying in the lexicon reduce the accusative feature across the board: this proposal is not supported by any principled explanation but it does appear to be true empirically since even when lexical operations suppress the dative argument of a ditransitive verb, direct objects become inaccessible, too, see (2a) vs. (2b). (See section 3.1.3 for further details and discussion).

(2)a. Russian (lexical reciprocalization):

    Ivan i   Masha perepisyvajutsja (*pis'ma).

    Ivan and Masha write(rec)   letters.ACC

  b. French (syntactic reciprocalization):

    Jean et   Marie s'   écrivent des   lettres.

    Jean and Marie SE   write   IND.ART letters

The lexical operations of reflexivization and reciprocalization are then formalized as in (3). Note that lexical reciprocalization also marks the verb as symmetric (see section 3.1.4 for details) and the bundled role in the case of reciprocals is assigned to an unordered pair (a group of two individuals, in simple cases), i.e. the collective reading is enforced (see Siloni (2012) for further details and discussion). Reflexive bundling is different in the following respects: it does not mark the verb as symmetric and it requires distributivity, i.e. the bundled role is necessarily associated with individuals (one individual is both Agent and Theme of the same atomic event).

(3) $V(Acc)[\theta_i]\ [\theta_j] \rightarrow V\ [\theta_i - \theta_j]$

In the next few sections, I will review some of the properties that are claimed to be determined by the Lexicon-Syntax parameter before turning to an alternative account.

3.1.2 ECM Verbs

As briefly discussed above, the Lexicon-Syntax parameter analyzes the difference in productivity observed across languages as a consequence of the difference in the locus of reflexivization and reciprocalization. If these operations apply in syntax, they are productive (e.g. French); if they apply in the lexicon, this results in lexically restricted sets of verbs (e.g. Russian, English). This proposal makes an important prediction regarding exceptional case marking (ECM) predicates. Consider (4), where the French verb *trouver* 'find' is an ECM verb which assigns its external θ-role to the subject *je* 'I' and its internal role to the embedded (small) clause; note that the subject of the embedded clause is *le* 'him' (simplifying somewhat) which is θ-marked by the predicate *gentil* 'nice' (again, simplifying somewhat) but it is case-marked (with accusative) by the ECM verb.[3]

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[3] As mentioned earlier, I adopt Sportiche's (1996) analysis of pronominal clitics (see footnote 29 in chapter 2). Drawing on this analysis, (4) can be represented as (roughly) (i).

(4) Je le   trouve très gentil.
     I   him   find   very nice

It is also often argued that ECM verbs form a complex predicate together with the embedded clause predicate, at some level of structure (Stowell 1991, amongst many others), with two θ-roles, one assigned to the matrix subject and the other assigned to the subject of the embedded clause. It is then of interest to consider whether such predicates can undergo reflexivization and reciprocalization in the two types of languages under discussion. Since complex predicates are only created in syntax, the two predicates are distinct entries in the lexicon. The Lexicon-Syntax parameter then predicts that reflexivized and reciprocalized ECM predicates should not be possible in 'lexicon' languages (e.g. Russian, English) since θ-roles of two distinct predicates cannot be targeted by an operation in the lexicon. On the other hand, if reflexivization and reciprocalization take place in syntax (e.g. French), complex predicates are expected to be an appropriate input for the operations.

These predictions are borne out. Consider first (5), where a complex predicate undergoes syntactic reflexivization/reciprocalization in French. As predicted, the operations can indeed act on theta-grids of two predicates: the one of the ECM verb and the one of the predicate inside the clausal complement of the ECM verb.

(5) Jean et   Marie se   trouvent   très gentils.
     Jean and Marie SE   find   very nice
     (i) 'Jean finds himself very nice and Marie finds herself very nice.'
     (ii) 'Jean and Marie find each other very nice.'

On the other hand, reflexivization and reciprocalization are limited to operate on a single predicate and its theta-grid in Russian and English, as also predicted, see (6b) and (7b).

(i) Je [$_{CIP}$ pro [$_{CI}$ le]   trouve [~~pro~~ très   gentil]] .

(6) Russian:

    a. Ja ego   nakhozhu   ochen'   prijatnym.

       I   him   find   very   nice

    b. *Ivan   i   Masha   nakhodjatsja   ochen'   prijatnymi.

       Ivan   and   Masha   find(refl/rec)   very   nice

(7) English:

    a. I find him very nice.

    b. *John and Mary find very nice.

Similar to the point made previously concerning productivity, the only grammatical way to express the intended meaning of the ungrammatical sentences in (6b) and (7b) is through transitive constructions involving reflexive and reciprocal anaphors, see (8-9).

(8) Russian:

    Ivan i   Masha nakhodjat sebja/   drug druga   ochen' prijatnymi.

    Ivan and Masha find   themselves/ each other   very   nice

(9) English:

    John and Mary find themselves/each other very nice.

While the prediction of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter regarding complex predicates is clean and robust, its implementation in 'syntax' languages faces a number of problems. Siloni (2012) only looks at ECM cases with infinitival TP complements involving intransitive verbs, such as *danser* 'dance', see (10).[4] Such

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[4] See Siloni (2012) for detailed argumentation as to why the complement of the ECM verb in (i) should be a TP. According to Stowell's (1981, 1983) original hypothesis, small clauses (see examples above where the complement of the ECM verb is a small clause) do not involve a TP (as they are in fact projections of a lexical head).

examples are similar to the small clause case explained above and are straightforwardly accounted for. *Se* reduces the accusative feature of the matrix verb; due to the lack of case, the external argument of the embedded verb cannot be mapped onto the subject position and the corresponding Agent θ-role is retained on the projection, as a result. Following Siloni (2012), since there is no merger of the subject in the embedded clause, the embedded TP is EPP-deficient, hence the retained role can be carried along beyond this TP. Rewording this explanation in more intuitive terms, the embedded clause does not constitute a phase, hence the derivation will not crash even though one role has not been discharged within its clause. Upon merger of the subject in the matrix clause, this retained role is assigned to that subject in tandem with the Agent/Experiencer role of the matrix verb (Siloni's (2012) last-resort parasitic θ-assignment).

(10) French:

Paul se voit danser   (dans   le   miroir).
Paul SE sees dance   in   the   mirror
'Paul sees himself dance (in the mirror).'

Unfortunately, Siloni (2012) does not examine cases where the embedded clause involves a transitive verb. It turns out that it is possible to reflexivize/reciprocalize both the ECM verb and the embedded verb in such examples and to have both verbs marked with *se*, see (11a). Indeed, given the intended meaning, the embedded verb has to be marked with *se* (note the ungrammaticality of (11b)).

(i) French :

Je le   vois   danser.
I   him   see   dance(inf)

(11) French:

    a. Paul se voit se raser dans le miroir.

       Paul SE sees SE shave in the mirror

       'Paul sees himself shave in the mirror.'

    b. *Paul se voit raser dans le miroir.

       Paul SE sees shave in the mirror

       Intended meaning: 'Paul sees himself shave in the mirror.'

Examples such as (11) are problematic for Siloni's (2012) view of the mechanism deriving syntactic reflexives and reciprocals. Siloni's (2012) analysis predicts that since there is no merger of Spec,TP in the embedded TP in (11), parasitic θ-role assignment (and hence reflexivization) cannot take place. This means that the two θ-roles associated with the embedded verb are both retained on the projection beyond the embedded TP. Once the external argument of the matrix verb is merged and the matrix verb's Agent/Experiencer role is assigned to it, the two other (retained) θ-roles are expected to be parasitically assigned to the same argument, so *se* is only expected in the matrix clause, see (11b).[5] Clearly, this prediction is not borne out as the outlined procedure yields an ungrammatical sentence in (11b). This raises an intriguing question as to whether there is a cap on the number of θ-roles that can be assigned in tandem and which domains or configurations such a cap may and may not apply to. Assigning more than one role parasitically clearly fails even in a simpler scenario, such as (12), where two (internal) roles of the same verb (see the interpretation) are retained on the verb's

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[5] Recall that in the Lexicon/Syntax parameter framework (e.g. Siloni 2012), the role of *se* is two-fold: it checks off case and also licenses the unconventional procedure of θ-role merging (parasitic θ-role assignment). As mentioned, parasitic θ-role assignment cannot take place in the embedded clause in (11); still, the reflexive marker is obligatory. A possible interpretation is that perhaps the role of *se* is limited to checking case in this specific example. To this end, note that case checking in reflexives and reciprocals is an intricate matter and there are reasons to believe that *se* might not in fact be (directly) involved in it. I will address this issue in section 3.1.3.

projection and fail to be (parasitically) assigned to the external argument of the same verb. There seems to be nothing in the derivational mechanisms assumed in Siloni (2012) that would prevent syntactic reflexivization and reciprocalization from applying even in cases like (12).

(12) Paul se   décrit.
      Paul SE   describes
      Impossible interpretation:
      'Paul (Agent) describes himself (Theme) to himself (Goal).'

I would like to stress that in spite of this problem with implementation and the exact mechanisms required to derive syntactic reflexives and reciprocals, the Lexicon-Syntax parameter still makes a correct prediction regarding the availability of ECM reflexivization and reciprocalization in languages characterized by productive reflexives and reciprocals. In other words, the generalization itself is still robust and I will show how it can be re-captured in a different framework in sections 3.2 and 3.3; I will also show how this new analysis will solve the problems that have been brought to light above.

3.1.3 Case Absorption

As discussed, reflexivization and reciprocalization suppress syntactic realization of (normally) internal arguments (but see cases of ECM predicates discussed in the previous section). This could in principle be viewed as happening through case reduction: lack of case apparently prevents an internal theta role from mapping onto its canonical position (Siloni 2012). In 'lexicon' languages, the operations always absorb the accusative case of the verb, even when the operations suppress dative arguments (e.g. Reinhart and Siloni 2005, Siloni 2008, Siloni 2012), see (2), repeated here as (13-14) . Compare Russian (13), where

accusative is absorbed across the board, to French (14), where accusative is preserved.[6, 7]

(13) Russian:

Ivan i   Masha   perepisyvajutsja (*pis'ma).
Ivan and Masha write(rec)   letters.ACC

(14) French:

Jean et   Marie s'   écrivent (des   lettres).
Jean and Marie SE   write   IND.ART   letters

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[6] Due to the fact that reflexives in 'lexicon' languages are restricted to 'grooming' and 'bodily care' verbs (section 2.2.2), and those are rarely found among ditransitives cross-linguistically, there are no examples of reflexives where a dative argument would have been suppressed, with the accusative feature reduced across the board. As a result, the examples in this section involve reciprocal verbs only, to allow for pairs of examples with the same verbs in both types of languages.

[7] Presumably, English, which is a 'lexicon' language, behaves on a par with Russian for this property. However, due to the lack of overt reflexive/reciprocal morphology in English, it is impossible to illustrate this property clearly. Thus, although (ia) can involve a reciprocal verb, (ib) – which is minimally different from (ia) in that it involves a direct object – is also acceptable. However, the grammaticality of (ib) is likely due to the transitive reading of the verb. Even when sentence (ib) involves the transitive reading of *email*, it can still (optionally) describe a reciprocal situation, similar to many other sentences involving non-reciprocal verbs and a plural subject, on the collective reading. For example, the verb *dance* is not reciprocal, but (ic) can optionally refer to a reciprocal situation where John and Mary dance with each other rather than separately or with other partners.

(i) a. John and Mary emailed all morning.
    b. John and Mary emailed love messages all morning.
    c. John and Mary danced.

Note that 'lexicon' languages allow accusative objects when reflexivity/reciprocity is expressed via reflexive/reciprocal anaphoric constructions; see (15) and (16).

(15)   Russian:

Ivan   i   Masha   pishut   drug drugu   pis'ma.
Ivan   and   Masha   write(trans)   each other.DAT   letters.ACC

(16)   English (see footnote 7):

John and Mary email love messages to each other.

It is indeed a robust generalization that languages characterised by productive reflexives and reciprocals can also realize direct objects when dative arguments are suppressed (French, Spanish, etc.), while languages with lexically restricted reflexives and reciprocals generally cannot (Russian, Hebrew, Hungarian, etc.). It is then unfortunate that the Lexicon-Syntax parameter has no principled explanation of this difference; the parameter merely stipulates that all valence reducing operations applying in the lexicon should reduce the accusative feature across the board (Reinhart and Siloni 2005, Siloni 2008, 2012).

A number of other, more technical, problems are found in the case checking mechanism implied by the current formulation of the Lexicon-Syntax approach; most of these problems will be dealt with in sections 3.2 and 3.3. Recall that when a morphological marker in 'syntax' languages reduces case associated with an internal argument, this is argued to prevent that argument from mapping onto its canonical position. This specific proposal is problematic as it implies a great deal of look-ahead. First, the position *se* merges in should arguably be higher in the structure than the internal argument's canonical position. This means that at the point where the internal argument is about to merge, the verb's projection does not yet 'know' (unless look-ahead is somehow incorporated) that *se* will enter the derivation later on. Even more problematic, to prevent the right argument from merging (in the case of ditransitives), the derivation would need to 'know' which case the clitic will absorb. Third, the said proposal implies that either a

converging derivation is not necessarily required to exhaust the Numeration (contra what is normally assumed), or the Numeration should somehow 'know' that it cannot choose to include *se* if a noun for the corresponding θ-role has already been included (or vice versa).[8]

Another problem with the exact implementation of case checking in the Lexicon-Syntax approach is that while case checking is quite central to the proposal, there still remain certain scenarios where case apparently fails to be taken care of. Recall that in the Lexicon-Syntax parameter framework, a morphological marker in 'syntax' languages (e.g. *se* in French) reduces case associated with the internal argument whose syntactic realization is suppressed. Note now that direct objects are often optional with syntactic reflexives and reciprocals in cases like (14); since *se* reduces dative in such examples, it is not obvious how the accusative feature is checked off if the direct object is not realized.[9] In 'lexicon' languages, on the other hand, the role of morphological marking is altogether unclear. In particular, consider the problematic data in (17). If the reciprocal marker (either overt or null) is assumed to reduce the accusative feature in the lexicon then it cannot also be checking off dative of the suppressed Goal/Recipient argument of a ditransitive verb in cases like (17b), cf. (17a). On the other hand, if the reciprocal marker is said to check off dative in (17b), while the accusative feature is absorbed by virtue of the operation itself, then it is

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[8] Finally, if lack of case can in principle prevent arguments from merging in theta-positions, it is not clear how passive and unaccusative derivations should proceed.

[9] It is in fact a more general question whether case – accusative or dative – needs to be checked if it remains 'unassigned'; for example, consider the case of optional arguments, such as in (i). However, it seems to be a standard assumption that in cases with optional arguments, either the missing argument is realized as a null constituent or we actually deal with verbs that are ambiguous between being one-place predicates or two/three-place predicates (e.g. see Adger (2003) for some discussion).

(i) a. I ate (an apple).

    b. I wrote (her) a letter.

unclear what enforces the reflexive/reciprocal marker in simpler cases, such as (17d), i.e. where there is no dative to check off (cf. (17c)).

(17) Russian:

a. Ivan pishet Mashe pis'ma.
  Ivan.NOM writes Masha.DAT letters.ACC

b. Ivan i Masha   perepisyvajut-sja (*pis'ma).
  Ivan.NOM and Masha.NOM write-rec   letters. ACC

c. Ivan celuet Mashu.
  Ivan.NOM kisses Masha.ACC

d. Ivan i Masha   celujut-sja.
  Ivan.NOM and Masha.NOM kiss-rec

To conclude, case checking in reflexives and reciprocals is quite an intricate matter and there are reasons to believe that reflexive/reciprocal marking might not be directly involved in it (in either type of languages). Labelle (2008) convincingly argues that the reflexive/reciprocal *se* should not in fact be analyzed as case reducing/checking morphology in French. For example, reflexive and reciprocal anaphors are allowed with *se* verbs in cases where these anaphors correspond to arguments that have been suppressed in the course of reflexivization/reciprocalization, see (18). In other words, *se* does not prevent the verb from assigning case (accusative or dative) whose corresponding argument has been suppressed.[10]

(18)a. Il se lave lui-meme.
  he SE wash himself

 b. Ils se dessinent l'un l'autre.
  they SE draw   each other

 c. Ils s' envoient des lettres l'un à l'autre.
  they SE send IND letters to each other

---

[10] See Labelle (2008) for additional arguments in favour of this position.

I will suggest initially (in sections 3.2 and 3.3) that case does not (always) have to be checked. Thus, if it is checked off by verbal morphology (which I will assume happens to accusative in lexical reflexives and reciprocals, due to the nature of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme and the position it merges in), the corresponding argument is ruled out altogether. On the other hand, if case is left unchecked, the realization of the argument is possible (most certainly subject to other conditions, e.g. the corresponding θ-role is available, etc.).

In sum, it seems fair to conclude that although the Lexicon-Syntax parameter points to a clearly robust generalization as to how reflexivization and reciprocalization in the two types of languages pattern with regards to accusative, the exact implementation of case checking and case reduction developed in this approach cannot be maintained under closer inspection.

3.1.4 Symmetry and Discontinuity in Reciprocals

Two other properties claimed to distinguish between the two types of languages are symmetry and discontinuity in reciprocals. As we will see in this section, the Lexicon-Syntax parameter makes a clear prediction regarding symmetry, while the discontinuity property is not as robust, under closer inspection.

As discussed, reciprocal verbs denote situations where participants of an event act on each other. Intuitively (and very informally), reciprocals should then involve at least two sub-events to ensure that one participant acts on the other participant and also vice versa. Note however that verbs in themselves can only denote singular events linguistically; only the presence of a plural operator (e.g. plural agreement, count adverbials) in the sentence enables predicates to express linguistically plural events (Carlson 1998, Siloni 2012). Against this background, the Lexicon-Syntax approach makes a clear prediction regarding reciprocal verbs in 'lexicon' vs. 'syntax' languages. Since lexical derivations do not have access to syntax, plural operators are not available to lexical reciprocals, so such verbs can only refer to a reciprocal situation if they encode the two sub-events in one linguistic event. This can only be achieved via a symmetric event which also implies that the Agent and Theme roles have to be merged in that same linguistic

event (the bundling operation defined in section 3.1.1). On the other hand, reciprocal verbs in 'syntax' languages are predicted to have access to plural operators; as a result, their reciprocal reading may emerge from the accumulation of asymmetric sub-events in syntax, through a plurality of events. These predictions are borne out. Indeed, reciprocal verbs in 'lexicon' languages must denote a symmetric singular (atomic) event, see (19b), while reciprocals in 'syntax' languages do not have to (19a).

(19) a. French:

Jean et Marie se sont embrassés cinq fois.

Jean and Marie SE kissed five times

(i) There were 5 symmetric kissing events.

(ii) There were 10 asymmetric kissing events.[11]

b. Russian:

Ivan i Masha pocelovalis' pjat' raz.

Ivan and Masha kissed(rec) five times

(i) There were 5 symmetric kissing events.

(ii) *There were 10 asymmetric kissing events.

In Siloni (2012), symmetry is crucially linked to another property associated with the Lexicon-Syntax parameter, i.e. discontinuity. The discontinuous construction expresses reciprocity between the subject set and the oblique set introduced by the preposition *with*, entailing that both the subject and the oblique constituent play the same role in the event (Frajzyngier 1999), see (20). Discontinuity is not special to derived reciprocals but is characteristic of any predicate whose lexical meaning is symmetric, e.g. the predicate *shake hands*, see (21b).[12]

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[11] On closer inspection, (19a) may also denote a combination of asymmetric and symmetric events (e.g. two symmetric kissing events and six asymmetric kissing events).

[12] Also, see Dimitriadis (2004) for the claim that discontinuity is contingent upon symmetric events.

(20) Russian:

Ivan   celuetsja   s   Mashej.

Ivan   kisses(rec) with Masha

'Ivan and Masha kiss.'

(21) English:

   a. John and Mary shook hands five times.

   (i)   There were 5 symmetric events of shaking hands.

   (ii)   *There were 10 asymmetric events of shaking hands.

   b. John shook hands with Mary.

    Symmetric predicates are analyzed in Siloni (2012) as having two possible lexical representations: as monadic predicates (with the sole Agent-Theme role) and as dyadic predicates where in addition to the Agent-Theme role assigned to the subject, there is also an empty/unspecified role assigned to the discontinuous argument and interpreted as being in a *symmetric* relation with the subject. [13] Such analysis then predicts that 'lexicon' languages where reciprocal verbs are obligatorily symmetric should always license discontinuity in reciprocals. By contrast, 'syntax' languages should disallow discontinuous reciprocals. This prediction is borne out only partially. First, while most 'lexicon' languages, such as Russian, Hebrew and Hungarian, do indeed license discontinuous reciprocals, see (20), English does not allow them productively, see (22).[14]

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[13] See Siloni (2012) for detailed argumentation (involving a number of reliable diagnostics) as to why the discontinuous phrase is indeed an argument (rather than an adjunct comitative phrase).

[14] Siloni (2012) notes that this could be due to the morphological identity between the reciprocal and its transitive counterpart, but it remains unclear exactly how the two properties are linked. The progressive aspect enhances the acceptability of English discontinuous reciprocals (Yves Roberge, personal communication), see (i).

(i) a. ?Mary is kissing with John.

    b. ?Mary is hugging with John.

(22) a. *Mary kisses with John.

    b.   *Mary hugs with John.

    c.   (?)Mary meets with John. (OK in North American English)

    d.   Mary corresponds with John.

Second, although in certain 'syntax' languages, such as French and (some varieties of) Italian, discontinuous reciprocals are generally banned, see (23), many other 'syntax' languages (e.g. Serbian, Czech, Bulgarian, Evenki, Spanish) allow 'frequently mutual' interaction reciprocals in the discontinuous construction, i.e. such reciprocals in 'syntax' languages tend to belong to the exact set of verbs which normally exist in 'lexicon' languages.[15] Somewhat counterintuitively, Siloni (2008, 2012) argues that these counterexamples are isolated cases that can be explained as outputs of syntactic operations that got listed in the lexicon, i.e. underwent lexicalization and became symmetric, as a result.

(23)   French:

    *Jean   s' embrasse   avec Marie.

    Jean   SE kisses   with Marie

To summarize, while the Lexicon-Syntax approach clearly accounts for symmetry as one additional systematic difference between the two types of languages, its predictions regarding discontinuity are not borne out fully and

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[15] Anaphoric constructions do not have to denote symmetric events and are cross-linguistically incompatible with the discontinuous construction (Haspelmath 2007), see (ia). However, anaphors are acceptable as oblique constituents with discontinuous reciprocal verbs, to an extent (e.g. Russian, Hebrew; see Siloni (2012) for discussion), see (ib).

(i) Russian:

  a. *Ivan   celuet   drug druga   s   Mashej.

     Ivan   kisses(trans) each other   with   Masha

  b. (?)Ivan i   Masha   celujutsja drug s drugom.

     Ivan and Masha   kiss   with each other

require a stipulation. It seems that in the light of important exceptions to the generalization advanced by Siloni (2008, 2012), we need to seriously look into more discontinuity data from languages of both types (e.g. Nedjalkov 2007) before attempting to revise it. Note that in sections 3.2 and 3.3 I will show that the symmetry property can be also naturally accounted for in a different type of framework, but I will leave the analysis of the discontinuous construction for further research.

3.1.5 Semantic Drifts and Idioms

Reflexive and reciprocal verbs in 'lexicon' languages may be available in meanings and idioms which are not necessarily shared by their transitive counterparts (Siloni 2008, 2012). The same is not generally possible in 'syntax' languages where reflexives and reciprocals normally share meanings and idioms with the corresponding transitive verbs. To provide an example from 'lexicon' languages, the Russian reciprocal verb *vstrechat'sja* 'meet (each other)' can also mean 'to go out on a date'; this latter meaning is not available for the transitive *vstrechat'* 'meet (somebody)'. Likewise, the Hebrew idiom *nipagesh ba-sivuv* 'just you wait and see' (literally, 'we will meet at the turn') does not exist in its transitive version; *nifgosh otxa ba-sivuv* has only the literal meaning 'we will meet you at the turn'. (The examples are from Siloni (2008, 2012).)

In the light of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter, these systematic differences between the two groups of languages are expected. If an operation is said to take place in the lexicon, its output is a separate lexical entry which can undergo semantic drift (rather freely), independently of the input lexical entry. By contrast, an output of a syntactic operation does not result in a new entry in the lexicon, so it normally shares all the meanings with the input entry. The same logic applies to the case of idioms; syntactic reflexives and reciprocals are not accessible in the lexicon so a special meaning of a phrasal expression that involves these verbs is not readily stored.

In sections 3.2 and 3.3 I will show that my analysis captures these properties, too.[16]

3.1.6 Summary

In sum, the Lexicon-Syntax parameter (Reinhart & Siloni 2004, 2005, Siloni 2008, 2012) is claimed to capture certain systematic differences between two types of languages in the domain of reflexive and reciprocal verbs: languages differ as to the component of the language faculty where verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization apply. The clusters of properties that are said to straightforwardly follow from the locus of the operations in question are summarized in table 1 below.

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[16] Two more properties that have been argued to belong to the cluster associated with the Lexicon-Syntax parameter (nominalization and 'frozen' inputs) are not covered in the main text; see Siloni (2012) for details. These properties are arguably problematic and do not make a good case for the Lexicon-Syntax Parameter. I will not discuss them in sections 3.2 and 3.3 either.

Table 1. Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs in 'Lexicon' vs. 'Syntax' Languages.

Reflexive and reciprocal verbs in 'lexicon' languages	Reflexive and reciprocal verbs in 'syntax' languages
The derivation involves a complex [Agent-Theme] role formation in the lexicon (bundling)	The derivation involves parasitic θ-assignment assignment in syntax (two simplex roles are signed to the same external argument, as a last resort)
(1) Lexically restricted	(1) Productive
(2) No ECM reflexives and reciprocals	(2) ECM reflexives and reciprocals are allowed
(3) Accusative is absorbed across the board	(3) Do not absorb accusative across the board
(4) Reciprocals must denote symmetric events	(4) Reciprocals may denote symmetric or asymmetric events
(5) Discontinuous reciprocals are licensed	(5) Discontinuous reciprocals are generally banned
(6) May have semantic drifts and idioms not shared by their non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts	(6) Semantic drifts and idioms are normally shared by the non-reflexive/reciprocal counterparts

'Lexicon' languages are generally restricted in expressing reflexivity and reciprocity through the verbal strategy: the anaphoric strategy has to be employed in cases of non-grooming and non-interaction verbs, ECM constructions and whenever the direct object of a ditransitive verb needs to be realized. This leads to an interesting conclusion that although the French *se* is not an anaphoric pronoun and it does not behave on a par with true object pronouns in French (see section 2.3 for detailed argumentation), *se* reflexives and reciprocals do pattern better with anaphoric constructions in 'lexicon' languages than with lexical reflexives and reciprocals, as far as many properties above are concerned. In addition to productivity, ECMs and direct objects, this observation also holds of discontinuous reciprocals: recall that anaphoric constructions and French *se*

reciprocals are not compatible with discontinuity, while reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages are licensed in the discontinuous construction. Table 2 summarizes these patterns in how the verbal and anaphoric strategies compare across languages; I will come back to this point in section 4.1 and chapter 5.

Table 2. Important Crosslinguistic Patterns in the Verbal vs. Anaphoric Strategies.

	Russian and English anaphoric constructions	Russian/English reflexive and reciprocal verbs	French *se* reflexive and reciprocal verbs
Productivity	yes	no	yes
ECM	yes	no	yes
Direct objects	yes	no	yes
Discontinuity	no	yes (Russian)	no

While it is true that the Lexicon-Syntax parameter has identified systematic differences between the two types of languages, this approach still faces a number of (often technical) problems with exactly how the machinery behind these robust generalizations and predictions is implemented. One of the goals of the present thesis is to re-capture the important observations of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter in a different type of analysis, which will eventually solve most of the problems identified so far.

3.2 Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs in L-syntax/S-syntax

As already discussed, a cluster of differences observed between languages where verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization are productive and languages where these operations are lexically constrained can be captured in terms of the component of the grammar where the two operations apply, i.e. syntax versus the lexicon. The major contribution of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter approach is that it points to a reasonable direction of how the observed differences could be explained; many of the listed differences appear to be unsurprising in the light of the difference in the locus of verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization.

The point of departure in this section is Siloni's (2002) concern that if the Lexicalist Hypothesis is abandoned in favour of 'syntactic hierarchical structure all the way down' (as in Distributed Morphology; see, for example, Harley and Noyer (1999: 3)), the insights of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter are lost. In other words, Siloni's (2002) rationale is that if nothing can be said to 'happen in the lexicon' (Harley and Noyer 1999: 3) – since the lexicon is reduced to a list of vocabulary items – arity operations in 'syntax' and 'lexicon' languages should have similar properties, contrary to fact. However, there exists a non-lexicalist approach which allows capturing this crosslinguistic difference quite naturally: Hale and Keyser (1993) distinguish between syntactic/sentential phrase-level syntax (S-syntax) and lexical syntax (L-syntax, the domain of lexical entries and one event). In Travis (2000, 2010), who adopts and somewhat modifies this model, the event related category E represents the phrase structure boundary between the two domains. Evidence for such architecture, and for L-syntax in particular, comes from word formation in cases where it is apparently carried out through syntactic means; at the same time, certain characteristics suggest that below E we find a syntax that is very lexical in nature (e.g. change of category, phonological, semantic and lexical idiosyncrasies, etc.).[17] In what follows, I outline my proposal regarding the derivation of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in 'syntax' versus 'lexicon' languages, along the lines of Hale and Keyser's (1993) model as adopted in Travis (2000, 2010) and Baker (2003). While keeping adequate empirical coverage, the analysis developed in this section is not merely a reformulation of an older one; I will demonstrate that it also does away with certain previous stipulations and problems.

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[17] One arguable conceptual disadvantage of assuming L-syntax is that the syntactic component and the lexicon appear to be merged to a point, implying a lack of economy and some degree of imperfection. However, the evidence for the overlap between the two components of the grammar is quite convincing: Hale and Keyser (1993) argue that denominal and deadjectival verb formation complies with the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984); the Spec-Head relations, anaphor binding (Travis 2000, 2010) and adjunction (Tomioka 2006) appear to be operative at the level of L-syntax.

Assuming semantic decomposition (e.g. Dowty 1979) and that event structure is generally mapped onto phrase structure in L-syntax (e.g. Hale and Keyser 1993, Travis 2000, 2010), I suggest that the VP-shell derivation in (24) (originally, based on Larson (1988); cf. Kratzer (1996)) underlies the transitive counterparts of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in all the three languages I consider. Simplifying somewhat, the derivation of 'John kissed/washed Mary' will roughly read as 'John caused Mary be(come) kissed/washed'. In (24), vP (the upper VP, or V_1P, in Travis (2010)) introduces a CAUSE operator (subevent) with Agent in its Spec position, while VP (the lower VP, or V_2P, in Travis (2010)) introduces the result-expressing predicate (event or state). VP is decomposed into a BE operator with Theme – its first argument – in its Spec position, and a property-denoting second argument, which I will assume (based on Baker (2003)) is always an AP. Following Travis (2000, 2010), the layer that is sandwiched in-between vP and VP is AspP (Inner Aspect Phrase) and this is where the feature [+/- telic] is computed. While telicity *per se* is not relevant to the present thesis, the projection AspP is relevant, due to its link to accusative case licensing. In particular, drawing on the idea that objects (among other elements) enter the computation of telicity,[18] Travis (2000, 2010) proposes that they need to move to the Spec position of AspP to become visible for this computation. The Spec position of Asp is then viewed as the landing site for DPs checking accusative case based on the crosslinguistic observation according to which telicity favours accusative case assignment. Finally, following Travis (2000, 2010), E(vent) Phrase introduces the functional category E which marks the edge of the event and represents the phrase structure boundary between L-syntax and S-syntax. E θ-binds the event θ-role of the verb rendering vP the status of a fully saturated event and limiting the domain of a single event. I will show below that the outlined architecture allows to accurately capture the (relevant) differences in the derivation of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in 'syntax' versus 'lexicon' languages.

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[18] Thus, *drew a circle* is telic, while *drew circles* is atelic.

(24)

```
        EP
        /\
          E'
         /\
        E   vP
           /\
       Agent  v'
             /\
          CAUSE  AspP
                /\
               Asp'
              /\
           Asp   VP
                /\
            Theme  V'
                  /\
                BE   AP
                  (washed/kissed)
```
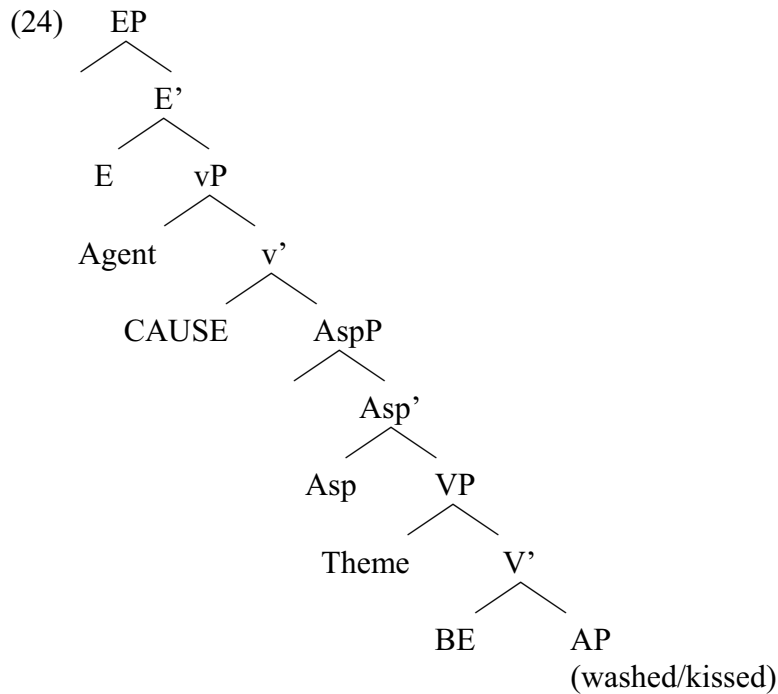
I will now turn to my proposal as to how reflexives and reciprocal verbs are derived in the three languages relevant to the present thesis. The derivation in 'lexicon' languages (Russian and English) is illustrated in (26). Reflexives and reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages are formed in L-syntax, which will immediately account for the non-productivity property of these verbs. The reflexive/reciprocal morpheme in Asp will straightforwardly reduce accusative associated with this head and – using the formalism of Baker & Bobaljik (2002, 2008) – allow two θ-roles to be bundled, achieving the same results as the Lexicon-Syntax approach, but in a manner that is less ad hoc.

To begin with, I will assume that the derivation of Russian and English reflexive/reciprocal verbs is largely identical; it is sufficient for my purposes to reduce the difference between the two languages to the realization of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme as phonetically overt (-*sja*), in the case of Russian, versus phonetically null, in the case of English. I will refer to this abstract morpheme as SJA hereafter. Second, as mentioned above, I will assume that in

Russian and English, SJA merges in Asp, see (26).[19] One reason as to why SJA might need to merge in Asp rather than anywhere else within L-syntax is that reflexivization and reciprocalization reduce accusative case across the board in 'lexicon' languages (e.g. Reinhart & Siloni 2004, 2005, Siloni 2008, 2012). Recall that following Travis (2000, 2010), I assume that accusative is checked in the Spec position of Asp; merging SJA in Asp would then conveniently check the case feature associated with it.[20]

Although there have been attempts to reduce thematic roles to structural configurations (e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993, 1998, amongst many others), I will conservatively assume that roots are equipped with full sets of θ-roles, but they get assigned to arguments in appropriate configurations (similar to Travis (2010)). In other words, roles encoded in the argument structure of roots cannot be realized directly, but require the mediation of certain heads along the event spine, i.e. v introduces the Agent, V introduces the Theme, etc.[21] More precisely, I will in fact assume a two-step process of argument introduction into the structure: first, when a mediating head, such as v or V, merges with its complement, it makes a particular θ-role of the root accessible to the computational system, i.e. it introduces this θ-role rather than the argument itself. Second, once a θ-role is

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[19] A similar assumption is made in Bruhn de Garavito (2000) and Montrul (1997) for the anticausative/inchoative morphemes in Spanish (*se*) and Turkish (*-il*); see also Harley (1995).

[20] Note that in my analysis, no dative case absorption takes place in 'lexicon' languages when a dative argument is suppressed. See discussion of case related issues in section 3.3.

[21] In the analysis outlined in the present section, every V takes AP as its complement, i.e. roots are merged within an AP. At the same time, it is well known that adjectives do not generally assign the same set of θ-roles as verbs, at least they do not appear to assign them obligatorily and their alleged arguments are not realized syntactically in the same fashion as arguments of verbs (see Baker (2003) for discussion). The assumption that roots are equipped with full sets of θ-roles is nevertheless compatible with the latter observation since – as mentioned above – θ-roles encoded in the argument structure of roots still need to be properly introduced which requires particular structural configurations and the mediation of certain heads higher up in the syntactic tree.

made available, the corresponding argument may be merged in the specifier position.

Furthermore, to allow for θ-roles of roots to be discharged non-locally, I will assume that the argument structure of the root is inherited by higher nodes. As the flow of information needs to be constrained, the standard idea is that it can only percolate from the head. Each head in the event spine therefore 'absorbs' the relevant information from its complement to pass it on up the tree. For the most part this should be a trivial procedure (whatever mechanism is assumed to implement this technically), with specific θ-roles getting properly introduced (in the sense specified above) by specific heads and discharged upon merger of the corresponding arguments.

To articulate a more detailed proposal in familiar terms, I will make use of representational tools similar to those developed in Baker & Bobaljik (2002, 2008). As far as SJA is concerned, I will assume that (abstract) morphemes merged in L-syntax can manipulate – i.e. alter – the argument structure of their complements. Combining this idea with the traditional analysis of reflexive/reciprocal morphology as valence reducing, I will assume that SJA has an argument structure of its own (see Baker & Bobaljik (2002, 2008) for similar analyses of various derivational affixes), see (25). In (25), $<AS_{root}>$ refers to the argument structure taken over from the complement (along the lines of Baker & Bobaljik's (2002, 2008) substitution linking) and ROLE is a θ-role that gets its content via binding the θ-roles in the argument structure inherited from the complement (along the lines of Baker & Bobaljik's (2002, 2008) argument binding).[22]

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[22] To see how these operations have been used to account for other phenomena, compare the nouns *employee* vs. *employer*. According to Baker & Bobaljik (2002, 2008), the argument structure of the suffixes -*er* and -*ee* is <R <Event>>, where the Event argument gets replaced by the argument structure of the verb they attach to, i.e. <Agent <Theme>> in the case of *employ* (substitution linking). Moreover, the external argument of -*er* binds the external argument of the verb, while the external argument of -*ee* binds the internal argument of the verb; as a result, no distinct phrase can be used to express the bound argument and it is understood that the same thing fulfills both argument roles (argument binding), see (i).

(25)   SJA's argument structure: $\langle ROLE^k \langle AS_{root} \rangle \rangle$

As a result of argument binding, $\langle ROLE^k \langle AS_{root} \rangle \rangle$ will read as $\langle ROLE^k$ $\langle Agent^k \langle Theme^k \rangle \rangle \rangle$, see (26). Since the θ-roles of the root are now tied to ROLE, they cannot be assigned to distinct phrases; as a result, $\langle ROLE^k \langle Agent^k$ $\langle Theme^k \rangle \rangle \rangle$ will ultimately read as $\langle Agent\text{-}Theme \rangle$. In other words, the argument structure inherited by v ultimately consists of a complex θ-role 'Agent-Theme', a welcome result similar to the outcome of θ-bundling in the Lexicon-Syntax parameter framework. However, note that while lexical bundling is an operation formulated in an *ad hoc* manner in the latter approach, the analysis developed here draws on independently motivated operations (i.e. substitution linking and argument binding). Moreover, the present approach is very clear on exactly how the amalgamation of two roles is implemented, which is different from merely stipulating that a particular operation, such as lexical bundling, takes place.

Since the position where the Theme argument normally merges (the Spec of VP) is below the position where SJA merges (Asp), the relevant question is what happens to the Theme role before SJA enters the derivation and the role gets bound as described. I will assume that in a converging reflexive/reciprocal derivation, the Numeration does not include a noun appropriate for internal θ-role assignment.[23] Since there is no merger of the argument in Spec,VP, the unassigned θ-role is retained on the verb's projection until it gets bound. Note that this specific detail of the analysis (i.e. an unassigned θ-role being retained on the projection) is adopted from Siloni's (2008, 2012) analysis of syntactic reciprocals (and reflexives). I believe it is a welcome result that the same step is now

---

(i) a. employer: -er $\langle R^k \langle Ev \rangle \rangle$ + employ $\langle Ag^k \langle Th \rangle \rangle$ → $\langle R^k \langle Ag^k \langle Th \rangle \rangle \rangle$ → $\langle R^k \langle Th \rangle \rangle$
     b. employee: -ee $\langle R^k \langle Ev \rangle \rangle$ + employ $\langle Ag \langle Th^k \rangle \rangle$ → $\langle R^k \langle Ag \langle Th^k \rangle \rangle \rangle$ → $\langle R^k \langle Ag \rangle \rangle$

[23] In other words, derivations that include both the reflexive/reciprocal marker and a noun appropriate for internal θ-role assignment do not ultimately converge, i.e. crash. Note that this is conceptually superior to the look-ahead assumption associated with the Lexicon-Syntax approach where it is the lack of case that prevents the internal argument from merging (see section 3.1.3 for problems with the latter claim).

incorporated in the derivation of verbal reflexives and reciprocals in both types of languages.

Omitting details of exactly how the resulting <Agent-Theme> argument structure percolates further, the important point of the derivation is where the complex θ-role is discharged upon the merger of the external argument.

To conclude the discussion of the derivation of reflexives and reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages, when E takes vP as its complement, it is only the event role that yet needs to be discharged. Binding the event role at this point ensures that a verbal reflexive/reciprocal formed in L-syntax refers to a single event (i.e. can denote one event at most).

(26)

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\text{EP} \\
\quad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad \text{E'} \\
\quad \diagup \diagdown \\
\text{E} \qquad \text{vP} \\
\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\text{Agent} \qquad \text{v' <Agent-Theme>} \\
\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\text{CAUSE} \qquad \text{AspP <Agent-Theme>} \\
\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad \text{Asp' <ROLE}^k \text{<Agent}^k \text{<Theme}^k \text{>>>} \rightarrow \text{<Ag-Th>} \\
\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad \text{SJA} \qquad \text{VP <Agent <Theme>>} \\
\text{<ROLE}^k \text{<AS}_{root}\text{>>} \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{V'} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad \text{BE} \qquad \text{AP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{(washed/kissed)} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{<Agent <Theme>>}
\end{array}
$$
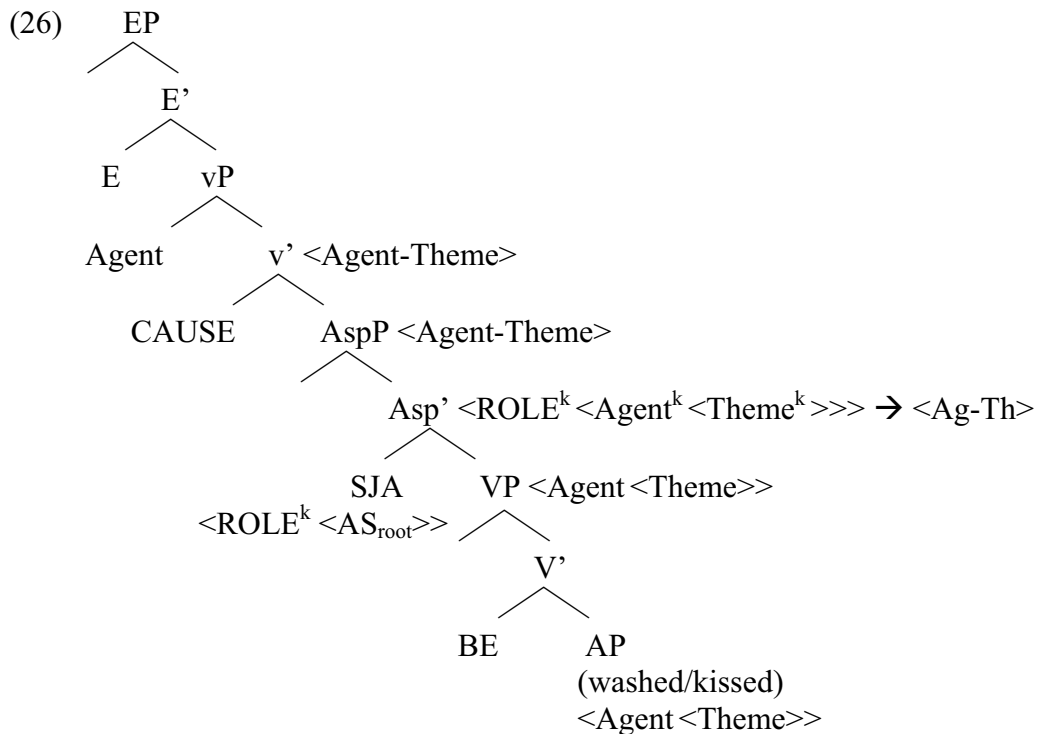
Let me now consider how verbal reflexives and reciprocals are derived in French, a 'syntax' language. To briefly outline what is coming, we will see that syntactic reflexives and reciprocals are ultimately licensed by *se* which is introduced in S-syntax, resulting in productivity of these verbs. Unlike what is assumed for 'lexicon' languages, the accusative case feature associated with Asp will remain unchecked, correctly allowing for direct objects in ditransitive cases,

among other things. The introduction of the external role by the mediating head (v) will trigger the last-resort application of the near-reflexive/reciprocal function, which will define the verb's internal variable on the basis of its external variable, yielding a one-place (in lieu of a two-place) predicate, so that when the subject DP is merged, it will saturate both roles. As shown below, this mechanism will effectively rule out reflexives and reciprocals where more than two roles of the same input entry are associated with just one argument, and it will correctly allow reflexivization/reciprocalization of the embedded predicate in ECM cases (recall that both are problematic for the Lexicon-Syntax approach; see section 3.1.2).

First of all, similar to 'lexicon' languages, the numeration in a converging reflexive/reciprocal derivation in 'syntax' languages does not include a noun appropriate for internal θ-role assignment. Since there is no merger of the argument in Spec,VP, the Theme role is not assigned in a conventional way but is retained on the verb's projection (i.e. the derivation starts out the same in both types of languages, as mentioned above), see (27). One difference from the derivation in 'lexicon' languages (Russian and English) is that no special manifestation of ASP is available in French in the reflexive/reciprocal case.[24] This means that the unassigned θ-role is retained on the verb's projection for a longer time; Asp merges with its complement and the immediate constituent it projects inherits the argument structure, which is unaltered and is still <Agent <Theme>>.

---

[24] This leads to the question as to what is responsible for checking off the accusative case feature associated with transitive verbs (in particular when the syntactic realization of an accusative argument is suppressed). See discussion of case related issues in section 3.3.

(27)   EP
        ╱╲
          E'
         ╱╲
       E   vP
           ╱╲
      Agent   v' <Agent <Theme>>
              ╱╲
         CAUSE   AspP <Agent <Theme>>
                 ╱╲
              Asp' <Agent <Theme>>
             ╱╲
          Asp   VP <Agent <Theme>>
                ╱╲
             V' <Agent <Theme>>
            ╱╲
         BE   AP
               (washed/kissed)
               <Agent <Theme>>
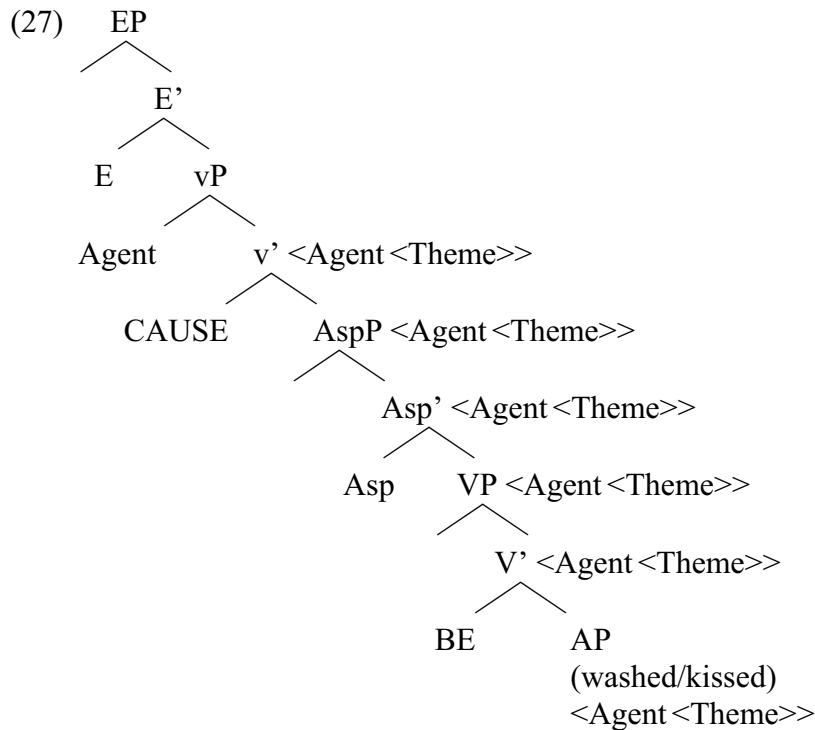
In what follows, I will show that *se* is ultimately responsible for creating a one-place predicate out of a two-place predicate and that it merges in S-syntax, which will correctly predict the productivity property of French reflexives and reciprocals, among other things.

To this end, recall that I assume a two-step process of argument introduction into the structure: first, a mediating head makes a particular θ-role of the root accessible to the computational system; next, the corresponding argument is merged in the specifier position and the role in question gets discharged. Against this background, I propose it is not the merger of the argument (as claimed by Siloni (2012)), but the introduction of the external role by the mediating head that triggers reflexivization and reciprocalization. In other words, once v introduces the Agent role, and even before the external argument is merged in Spec,vP, the computational system realizes that the domain of L-syntax is about to close off and it will soon hit the edge of the phase. With two roles retained on the projection at this point, I assume (similar to the logic employed by Siloni (2012)) that a repair mechanism is launched to avoid (or minimize the chances of) a crash at the syntax-semantics interface. In a nutshell, this repair mechanism yields a

one-place predicate in lieu of a two-place one, via introducing the near-reflexive/reciprocal function (which I define below). The consequence of such repair manoeuvre is (roughly) a feature on vP – which I will label *feature φ*, for concreteness – that needs to be checked off by the end of the phase or else the derivation will still crash.[25]

The near-reflexive/reciprocal function relates the external argument to the internal argument, resulting in (approximated) representations in (28-29), drawing on Labelle (2008).[26] First, although French reflexive and reciprocal verbs are syntactically intransitive (section 2.3), they have been argued to be transitive semantically, based on evidence (such as Tussaud contexts) showing that the two roles in *se* reflexives and reciprocals can be potentially associated with distinct

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[25] It is often proposed that last resort mechanisms are launched at the end of the phase to prevent the derivation from crashing (e.g. Siloni's (2012) parasitic θ-assignment; cf. the notion that last resort operations can save a derivation (Chomsky 1995, Bošković 2007, amongst others). It needs to be recognised that last resort mechanisms are a form of look-ahead. However, it seems reasonable to allow a type of look-ahead that refers to the prototypical phrase structure: the computational system 'knows' that derivations proceed in phases and that EPP is a requirement of a phase (the external argument has to be merged; cf. Bošković (2002) and Chomsky (2001)). As a result, the introduction of the external role might indeed be one of the first cues to an approaching phase edge which the computational system is capable of recognizing. This is different from look-ahead problems which Siloni's (2012) account is criticized for (see section 3.1.3 and footnote 38), where the computational system has to know which specific lexical item will be merged later in the tree or that it may not include two particular items in the Numeration.

In a model where particular mechanisms are either used or not used, and the wrong choice will simply lead to a crash, last resort operations could be avoided. However, this solution has implications for economy and minimality principles which presumably guide the computational system and ensure that superfluous steps are avoided unless there is no other choice. I will leave further discussion of these issues for future research.

[26] In Labelle's (2008) analysis, it is *se* that introduces the near-reflexive function; *se* is also argued to be a Voice head that introduces the external argument and takes as its argument a VP with an unsaturated internal argument. In my analysis, as it is laid out above, there is no dedicated syntactic projection that introduces the near-reflexive function. *Se* merges above L-syntax in my account.

referents (see section 3.3 for more details). More precisely, the referent of the object can be distinct from the one of the subject, but the two should still be representationally close.[27] The near-reflexive function $f(x)$ in (28) then determines the referent of the object as being related to the external argument, i.e. $f(x)$ ranges over entities distinct from x but sufficiently close to it. As a result, the verb's internal variable is now defined on the basis of its external variable; this procedure yields a one-place predicate, so that when the subject DP is merged, it saturates both roles.[28] Thus, an important distinction is made between verb's variables and its θ-roles.

(28) Near-reflexives:

    a. $\exists e \exists P \exists x \exists y [P(e)$ & $Agent(e, x)$ & $Role2(e, y)$ & $y=f(x)] \rightarrow$

       $\exists e \exists P \exists x [P(e)$ & $Agent(e, x)$ & $Role2(e, f(x))]$

    b. Jean s' admire.

       Jean SE washes

    c. $\exists e \exists y [admire(e)$ & $Agent(e, Jean)$ & $Theme(e, y)$ & $y=f(Jean)] \rightarrow$

       $\exists e [admire(e)$ & $Agent(e, Jean)$ & $Theme(e, f(Jean))]$

(29) Near-reciprocals:

    a. $\exists e \exists e_1 \exists e_2 \exists P \exists x \exists y \exists m \exists n [P(e)$ & $e=(e_1+e_2)$ & $Agent(e_1, x)$ & $Role2(e_1, m)$

       & $Agent(e_2, y)$ & $Role2(e_2, n)$ & $m=f(y)$ & $n=f(x)] \rightarrow$

       $\exists e \exists e_1 \exists e_2 \exists P \exists x \exists y [P(e)$ & $e=(e_1+e_2)$ & $Agent(e_1, x)$ & $Role2(e_1, f(y))$ &

       $Agent(e_2, y)$ & $Role2(e_2, f(x))]$

---

[27] Cf. Reuland's (2005) condition on near-identity: the referent of $f(x)$ should be sufficiently close to the referent of x to stand proxy for the latter, see (i).

(i) Luc a pu s' admirer au Musée Tussaud.

  Luc could SE admire at+the Museum Tussaud

  'Luc was able to admire himself (a statue of Luc) at the Tussaud Museum.'

[28] As pointed out above, the representations in (28-29) are approximations and are supplied to merely illustrate the proposal; nothing crucial hinges on the specific semantic notations used here.

b. Jean et   Marie   s' admirent.

   Jean and   Marie   SE kiss

c. $\exists e \exists e_1 \exists e_2 \exists m \exists n[e=(e_1+e_2)$ & admire(e_1) & Agent$(e_1,$ Jean$)$ & Theme$(e_1,$ m$)$ & admire(e_2) & Agent$(e_2,$ Marie$)$ & Theme$(e_2,$ n$)$ & m=f(Marie) & n=f(Jean)] $\rightarrow$

   $\exists e \exists e_1 \exists e_2[e=(e_1+e_2)$ & admire(e_1) & Agent$(e_1,$ Jean$)$ & Theme$(e_1,$ f(Marie)$)$ & admire(e_2) & Agent$(e_2,$ Marie$)$ & Theme$(e_2,$ f(Jean)$)]$

Next, the functional category E merges with vP and – as mentioned – θ-binds the event θ-role of the verb. Recall that each head in the event spine 'absorbs' the relevant information from its complement and passes it on up the tree; E then absorbs feature φ from vP. Following Travis (2000), EPs are normally phases; the standard assumption about phases is that once a phase is completed its domain undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic components.[29] Feature φ then needs to be checked off before EP undergoes Spell-out.

Under a triggering model of Spell-out, EP only begins the process of Spell-out once a head from the next phase is merged (e.g. Dobler, Newell, Piggott, Skinner, Sugimura and Travis 2009). Feature-checking may take place at this point when a head that merges directly with EP extracts a head from EP, before EP undergoes Transfer to the phonological and semantic components. I propose that the reflexive/reciprocal *se* is (roughly) such a head and it checks feature φ off rendering EP ready for Transfer. Crucially, *se* merges above EP, i.e. in S-syntax. Loosely drawing on Sportiche (1990/1998), I assume that the reflexive/reciprocal *se* is generated heading its own projection, say YP. *Se* bears feature φ and selects EP as its complement, see (30). The derivation converges only if E also bears
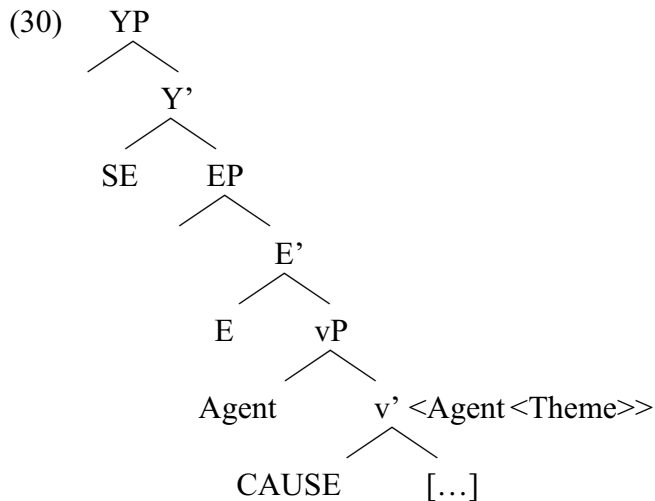
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[29] Under the traditional spell-out domain model (Chomsky 2001, Nissenbaum 2000), it is the complement of the phase head that undergoes transfer; under a domain-based triggered spell-out hypothesis (e.g. Skinner 2009), the phase only 'knows' it is a phase once it merges with a head from a new subarray.

feature φ (allowing for proper feature checking as sketched above), i.e. only if the described rescue mechanism has been launched within the said EP.[30, 31]

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[30] Features are usually introduced by lexical items in the Numeration, but feature φ enters the derivation in a different manner, i.e. through the application of a repair mechanism. As this may seem problematic, I will briefly outline an alternative solution. In particular, roots could bear θ-features to be checked off by merging arguments. Since no internal argument merges in the case of French reflexives and reciprocals, the relevant θ-feature needs to be checked off in a different way: by a matching feature on *se*. I will leave further elaboration of this proposal for future research.

Of course, the idea that *se* serves as a last resort operation licenser is a stipulation of a sort. Note that Sportiche (1990/1998) needs a comparable stipulation: in his analysis (roughly), *se* selects a VP with an external argument slot occupied by a null element (either expletive or argumental, depending on the exact type of *se* verb), subject to some additional stipulations. In Reinhart and Siloni (2005) and in Siloni (2012), *se* originates on V (although nothing is claimed to hinge on that) to check its case feature and thus prevents a verb's argument from merging; this mechanism ultimately guarantees the last resort assignment of two θ-roles to the same external argument. Again, this approach also involves a stipulation, i.e. no principled explanation as to exactly why *se* has this intriguing role.

[31] What YP could actually correspond to is Agr_oP. From a diachronic perspective, Agr_oP – whose Spec position direct objects are assumed to pass through – could have been reanalyzed as a projection headed by *se*. That would also conveniently explain why participle agreement is triggered with reflexives and reciprocals (section 2.3.1). Given the Minimalist spirit of keeping to functional categories whose features are interpretable at the interface levels (Chomsky 1995, 2000), I deliberately do not label YP as an Agr projection and leave further discussion of this proposal to future research.

(30)

```
        YP
        /\
         Y'
        /\
      SE  EP
          /\
          E'
         /\
        E  vP
           /\
       Agent  v' <Agent<Theme>>
              /\
          CAUSE  […]
```

Before I conclude this section, I would like to come back to the analysis of EPs as phases. Note that when vPs' phasehood is considered, it is sometimes argued that in order for them to count as phases their external argument has to be merged (e.g. Chomsky 2000);[32] more generally, EPP could indeed be a requirement of a phase (see Bošković (2002) and Chomsky (2001) for such claim as far as CPs are concerned). Drawing on this idea, I argue that in order for EPs to constitute a phase, Spec,vP has to be filled with an argument. As a result, the structure built by the point L-syntax closes off corresponds to a fully saturated event by default (i.e. when the given EP is a phase, the external argument has been merged and all the θ-roles have been discharged within the EP), but it may also correspond to a one-place predicate, meaning one open semantic position can be retained beyond L-syntax when the EP in question does not constitute a phase, i.e. the merger of the external argument has not taken place (the relevance of this amendment will become clear when ECM predicates are discussed in section 3.3).

3.3 Relevant Properties Revisited

Having laid out the proposal as to how verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization proceed in the two types of languages, I will now return to the properties distinguishing French, a 'syntax' language, on the one hand, from Russian and English, 'lexicon' languages, on the other (section 3.3.1). I will

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[32] However, see Legate (2003) who argues that all verb phrases are phases.

demonstrate that the analysis just developed naturally captures these differences and that it in fact has a number of advantages over the Lexicon-Syntax parameter approach, in the light of certain problems identified in the latter framework. I will also readdress diagnostics used in the experimental part of this thesis (introduced in section 2.3.2) and explain how the difference in the behaviour of *se* vs. true object pronouns is accounted for (section 3.3.2).

3.3.1 Properties Associated with the Lexicon-Syntax Parameter

To begin with, the productivity difference is now captured via the difference as to where *se* and SJA are merged, S-syntax vs. L-syntax, respectively. The idea is straightforward: given the nature of L-syntax (i.e. it has certain characteristics of the lexicon, including idiosyncrasies) SJA is allowed to display selectional properties, resulting in the lexically restricted application of verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization in Russian and English. By contrast, the French *se* – which is introduced in S-syntax – is expected to be generally insensitive as to the lexical properties of the root, resulting in no lexical restriction on the application of verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization in French. In other words, introducing some syntax into what counts as 'lexicon' operations in the Lexicon-Syntax approach does not necessarily force us to abandon its major insight.

Most other properties associated with the Lexicon-Syntax parameter can also be derived with relative ease. For example, the fact that only lexical reflexives and reciprocals allow semantic drifts and idioms that are not shared by their transitive counterparts is expected in the present framework, too, since lexical verbs are formed in L-syntax within EP and once EP is completed, it is allowed to have recourse to the lexicon (Travis 2000, 2010).

Moreover, recall that while reciprocal verbs in 'lexicon' languages necessarily denote symmetric events, reciprocal verbs in 'syntax' languages can also denote asymmetric events (see section 3.1.4). In the Lexicon-Syntax approach, this is an expected difference given the idea that the lexicon – unlike syntax – cannot encompass more than one event. In the framework I adopt here, the same difference between the two types of languages is also expected. E marks the edge

of the domain of the lexicon and limits the domain of one event (Travis 2000, 2010); reciprocals constructed in L-syntax are therefore expected to encode only one event and hence be symmetric, while reciprocals completed in S-syntax (*se* being introduced in S-syntax) are expected to be able to denote reciprocity via the accumulation/plurality of events (resulting in asymmetric events).[33]

In fact, certain differences between the two types of languages are captured more naturally and straightforwardly in the L-syntax/S-syntax framework than in the Lexicon-Syntax parameter framework. Thus, the difference in availability of direct objects with reflexive and reciprocal verbs when the realization of the dative argument is suppressed falls out naturally, but requires an ad hoc assumption in the Lexicon-Syntax approach (section 3.1.3). Recall that in 'lexicon' languages direct objects are unavailable in such cases even if direct objects are grammatical with corresponding transitive verbs; by contrast, in 'syntax' languages direct objects remain available. In the Lexicon-Syntax parameter framework, it is merely stipulated that all valence reducing operations applying in the lexicon reduce accusative case (section 3.1.3). By contrast, in my analysis (section 3.2) the reflexive/reciprocal affix in Russian and English is merged in L-syntax where it is generated under Asp and naturally 'absorbs' accusative case even if it is the dative argument of the verb whose syntactic realization is suppressed. In French, the reflexive/reciprocal *se* is merged in S-syntax and cannot affect the accusative feature associated with AspP lower in the

---

[33] The asymmetric reading is due to the distributive operator which ranges over the members of the subject set (so the predicate can distribute over its plural subject) (Siloni 2012); it is obvious that an operator that produces a plurality of events can only be introduced above EP in the L-syntax/S-syntax model. Travis (2000, 2010) refers to research on English, Tagalog and Malagasy, which shows a difference between two types of causatives, and argues that non-productive causatives which also encode only one event are constructed in L-syntax, while productive causatives which often encode two events are constructed in S-syntax. This is reminiscent of the difference between the two types of reciprocal verbs, although two-event causatives in Travis (2002, 2010) result from two Es involved in their derivation, which is different from how the plurality of asymmetric events results in the case of reciprocal verbs.

tree; as a result, if the Theme role of the verb does not participate in reflexivization or reciprocalization, it can be assigned to the corresponding argument which passes through the Spec of AspP where the accusative case feature is still available for appropriate checking procedures.

Having said that, note that I also assume that case features associated with heads may be checked off (i.e. by a merging argument or special morphology) but this is not an obligatory requirement. If case is checked off by a merging argument, it becomes unavailable for further assignment; likewise, special verbal morphology can check off case, e.g. SJA in lexical reflexives and reciprocals checks off accusative and thus rules out direct objects altogether. On the other hand, a case feature can be left unchecked, i.e. I assume that if the corresponding argument does not merge, no special mechanism is required to reduce that case feature. Indeed, many common scenarios where case checking is appealed to can also be explained in terms of θ-roles which may or may not be available for merging arguments or may fail to be discharged. Thus, (31a) is ungrammatical when the direct object is not realized; however, it is possible to explain this ungrammaticality by the failure of the obligatory Theme role to get discharged, making it unnecessary to appeal to the failure to check off the accusative feature associated with the verb. To provide another example, (31b), which involves a reciprocal verb, is ungrammatical when the dative argument is realized. Again, sentences like (31b) are not necessarily ruled out due to lack of case (i.e. dative may be claimed to be reduced in the course of reciprocalization); more likely, the ungrammaticality is due to the unavailability of the already 'absorbed' Goal role. In some other cases, EPP can be invoked; thus the ungrammaticality of (31c) can be explained via a requirement to fill the subject position with a DP rather than the need to check off nominative associated with I.

(31) a. I saw *(it).

    b. Russian:

       Tanja   i   Kolja   perepisyvalis' (*Pete).

       Tanja   and Kolja   wrote(rec)   Petja.DAT

c. *Snows frequently in Moscow.

While the proposal that case can in principle be left unchecked still needs to be substantially evaluated, both empirically and conceptually, it does away with certain issues brought to light in section 3.1.3, which are problematic for the Lexicon-Syntax approach.[34, 35] Thus, the role of *se* in 'syntax' languages is now explicitly restricted to checking off feature φ associated with the application of the last resort mechanism that turns a two-place predicate into a one-place predicate. Case associated with the suppressed argument is now correctly predicted to be available for anaphors, i.e. in my analysis *se* does not prevent the verb from assigning case whose corresponding argument has been suppressed. In 'lexicon' languages, the accusative case feature which is unavailable across-the-board is reduced by the reflexive/reciprocal morphology in L-syntax, while dative is always left unchecked. The unavailability of other dative arguments when reflexivization/reciprocalization suppresses a dative argument is explained via unavailability of the already 'absorbed' Goal role, see (31b) above.[36, 37] Although

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[34] However, note that the issue of whether or not case features should necessarily be checked is orthogonal to the formulation of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter and may in principle be separated from the other issues.

[35] The proposal that case can be left unchecked raises the following question. Recall that *se* is only compatible with verbs where the suppressed object would bear accusative or dative (see section 2.2.2 and 2.2.3); the question is then how we now ensure that verbs with objects bearing case different from accusative or dative do not undergo reflexivization and reciprocalization. Labelle (2008) who also argues against *se* checking the suppressed argument's case on the verb, proposes that *se* bears an accusative/dative case feature that needs to be checked and it can be checked at a distance through an agreement relation with the internal case feature. I will leave further discussion of this issue for future research.

[36] Note that dative arguments can be realized in sentences where the accusative argument of a ditransitive verb is suppressed, see (i), demonstrating that lexical operations do not reduce dative across the board, unlike what we observe for accusative in 'lexicon' languages.

the result is apparently the same in the two frameworks, i.e. dative case does not get checked in the case of 'lexicon' languages, my analysis acknowledges this explicitly and incorporates a straightforward proposal to this effect, while case checking assumptions adopted by the Lexicon-Syntax approach imply that every case feature has to be checked off, thus posing a problem for the latter account.[38]

I now turn to one final property of reflexive and reciprocal verbs distinguishing between 'syntax' and 'lexicon' languages. Recall that while ECM verbs can

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(i) Russian:

Tanja predstavilas'   Kole.

Tanja introduced(refl)   Kolja.DAT

'Tanja introduced herself to Kolja.'

[37] Unlike French, Russian does not allow clitic doubling (see section 2.2.3); consequently, since dative is left unchecked, something special needs to be said to rule out dative anaphors in this language when reflexivization and reciprocalization suppress the dative argument. How this problem is solved is beyond the scope of this thesis and I leave this issue for further research. Note that, as also discussed in section 2.2.3, other Romance languages, or more generally 'syntax' languages, may differ from French as far as clitic doubling is concerned (see section 2.2.3); thus whatever solution is chosen for dative in Russian, it should in fact work across the two types of languages, for both accusative and dative cases.

[38] The derivation of syntactic reflexives and reciprocals assumed in my analysis also avoids the look-ahead problem discussed in relation to the Syntax-Lexicon approach. In the Syntax-Lexicon approach, a morphological marker in 'syntax' languages reduces case associated with an internal argument, which prevents that argument from mapping onto its canonical position. In other words, the computational system appears to know that *se* will enter the derivation later on and thus prevents the internal argument from merging earlier in the derivation (look-ahead), which also implies that a converging derivation does not necessarily exhaust the Numeration or the Numeration should somehow 'know' that it cannot choose to include both *se* and a noun for the corresponding θ-role. By contrast, in my analysis, a derivation where the Numeration includes both *se* and a noun appropriate for internal θ-role assignment will simply crash due to the presence of the unchecked feature φ on *se* (recall that *se* bears feature φ and selects EP as its complement; the derivation converges only if E also bears feature φ, i.e. only if the described last-resort mechanism has been launched within the said EP).

undergo reflexivization and reciprocalization in 'syntax' languages, reflexivized and reciprocalized ECM predicates are impossible in 'lexicon' languages (section 3.1.2). In the Lexicon-Syntax parameter framework, this difference between the two types of languages is considered explained since roles of two distinct predicates can only in principle be targeted by a syntactic operation; at the same time, the exact mechanism licensing ECM reflexives and reciprocals in 'syntax' languages is less obvious and faces a number of problems.

In the approach I adopt, the unavailability of ECM reflexives and reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages is accounted for in the following way. Omitting certain details – such as exactly how the subject of the embedded clause is assigned accusative case – derivations involving ECM verbs, such as (32a) will roughly look like (32b), where the embedded TP (or a small clause) is merged in Spec,VP and is assigned the internal θ-role.

(32) a.   He sees/considers _{TP/Small Clause}[e.g. me dance/me smart].

   b.   vP
          /   \
    Ext. Arg.   v'
      (he)   /   \
          CAUSE   AspP <External θ-role>
                      |
                     Asp'
                    /   \
                  Asp   VP <External θ-role>
                        /   \
          TP/Small clause   V' <External θ-role <Internal θ-role>>
                              /   \
                            BE   AP
                               (seen/considered)
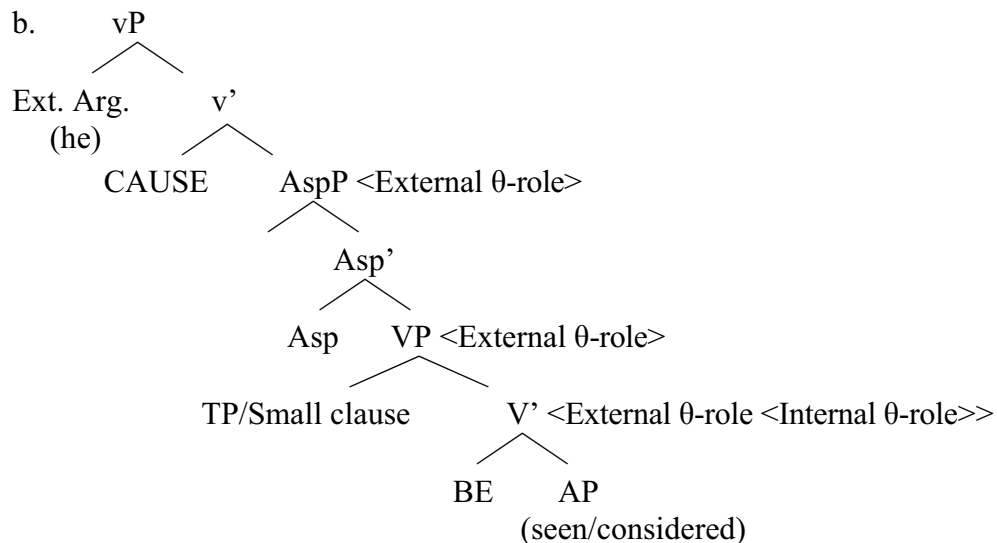
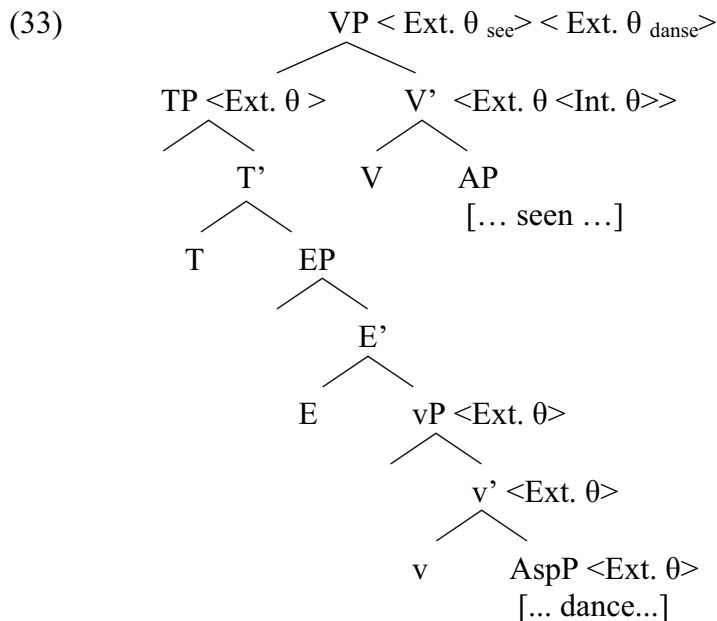Let me now look into what the VP of the matrix clause looks like when there is no merger of the external argument in the embedded clause, see (33). Since the external argument has not been merged, the embedded EP is not a phase,[39] hence

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[39] Recall that drawing on this idea that EPP might be a requirement of a phase, I argue in section 3.2 that Spec,vP has to be filled with an argument, in order for EP to constitute a phase.

the derivation does not crash even though the unassigned external θ-role is retained on the projection beyond the EP. While the internal θ-role of the ECM (matrix) verb is discharged upon merger of the embedded clause in Spec,VP, the unassigned external role that is still retained on the embedded TP is transmitted to the VP projection of the matrix clause. What is ultimately retained on the projection are two distinct argument structures: < Ext. θ $_{see}$> and < Ext. θ $_{dance}$>.

This is exactly the point at which the unavailability of ECM reflexives and reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages is accounted for. Recall that SJA alters the argument structure of the root via substituting the argument structure taken over from VP for its own second argument and binding the roles in this argument structure (section 3.2). Since the (matrix) VP retains two argument structures rather than one, see (33), one of the retained roles will ultimately fail to be discharged and the derivation will crash when the next phase is completed.

(33)

```
                    VP < Ext. θ see> < Ext. θ danse>
                   /                  \
       TP <Ext. θ >          V'  <Ext. θ <Int. θ>>
       /        \           /        \
      T'         V          V         AP
     /  \                          [… seen …]
    T    EP
        /  \
        E'
       /   \
      E      vP <Ext. θ>
            /   \
           v'  <Ext. θ>
          /    \
         v      AspP <Ext. θ>
                  [... dance...]
```

The availability of ECM reflexives and reciprocals in 'syntax' languages is expected, too. In section 3.2, I propose that with one role already retained on the projection, once v introduces the Agent role (i.e. even before the external argument is merged), the computational system immediately undertakes a step to

avoid a likely crash at the syntax-semantics interface. A repair mechanism is launched which yields a one-place predicate in lieu of a two-place predicate, via introducing the near-reflexive/reciprocal function (defined in section 3.2). Crucially, the near-reflexive function affects variables rather than θ-roles. In ECM reflexives and reciprocals, once the near-reflexive/reciprocal function defines the external variable of the embedded verb on the basis of the external variable of the matrix verb, the matrix subject DP saturates both roles, despite their belonging to two distinct argument structures.

Recall now that ECM examples like (34) are problematic for the Lexicon-Syntax parameter framework (see section 3.1.2). In (34), syntactic reflexivization clearly takes place in the embedded clause but there is nothing in the Lexicon-Syntax account that would force it. In other words, the external argument is not merged, hence – in Siloni's (2012) terms – the embedded TP is EPP-deficient and so there should not be any problem leaving the internal role undischarged and retaining it on the projection beyond the embedded TP, along with the external role (which also fails to be conventionally discharged). Parasitic assignment does not take place in the embedded clause, hence reflexivization should not have taken place in the embedded TP either, contrary to fact.

(34) French:

Paul se voit se   raser   dans le   miroir.

Paul SE sees SE shave   in   the   mirror

'Paul sees himself shave in the mirror'

My analysis accounts for cases like (34), too. Once the v of the embedded clause introduces the Agent role, a repair mechanism launches the near-reflexive/reciprocal function which yields a one-place predicate in lieu of a two-place predicate. Since there is no external argument merger in the embedded clause in (34), the embedded EP is not a phase and the pending θ-assignment does not crash the derivation; note that only one open semantic position (but two θ-roles) is retained beyond the embedded clause. Omitting details, the key idea is

that when the Agent role is introduced by the v of the matrix clause, this again results in two open semantic positions, triggering the same repair mechanism. Recall that as a result of the near-reflexive function application in the embedded clause, the internal variable of the embedded verb is defined on the basis of its external variable; the second application of the near-reflexive function results in defining that external variable on the basis of the external variable of the matrix verb, yielding a one-place predicate again. When the matrix subject DP is merged, it thus saturates all the three roles. (Again, note the important distinction between variables and θ-roles in my account.)

To briefly address the question of how many roles can be assigned in tandem (section 3.1.2), the answer is that there is no cap as long as these roles correspond to just one open semantic position/variable, which is a situation that can only result due to the application of the near-reflexive/reciprocal function. Importantly, this function is only capable of turning a one-place predicate into a two-place predicate; it cannot define more than one variable on the basis of the external variable of the given verb. This restriction straightforwardly accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (12), repeated here as (35), where reflexivization involves more than two co-arguments, i.e. two roles that correspond to two open semantic positions are retained on the projection by the time the external role is introduced and the application of the near-reflexive function is triggered. Recall that there is nothing in the Lexicon-Syntax account that would prevent the two retained roles to be (parasitically) assigned to the external argument upon the assignment of the external role to the same argument.

(35) Paul se   décrit.
     Paul SE   describes
     Impossible interpretation:
     'Paul (Agent) describes himself (Theme) to himself (Goal).'

3.3.2 *Se* Diagnostics Used in the L2 Study

Finally, I will address the three diagnostics used in the experimental part of this thesis to distinguish between *se* and true object clitics. These diagnostics were introduced in section 2.3.2 and I will now provide a principled explanation of the difference in the linguistic behavior of the two types of clitics in these constructions.

First, passive constructions are ungrammatical with *se*, see (36a), but grammatical with true object pronouns, see (36b); see section 2.3.2.2. In the Lexicon-Syntax approach, reflexivized and reciprocalized passives in 'syntax' languages are ruled out because passive derivations have no merger of the external argument and no external θ-role is available for parasitic assignment of a retained θ-role (section 3.1.1). In the approach developed here, the application of the near-reflexive/reciprocal function is triggered in 'syntax' languages when the external role is introduced by v; since passive derivations have no external argument, reflexive and reciprocal passives are ruled out in 'syntax' languages as well.[40]

(36) a. *Brigitte   et   Marc   se   sont présentés   par   Una.
         Brigitte   and   Marc   SE   are   presented   by   Una
         Intended: 'Bridget and Mark are presented to each other by Una.'

     b. Brigitte   et   Marc   nous sont présentés   par   Una.
         Brigitte   and   Marc   us   are   presented   by   Una
         'Brigitte and Marc are presented to us by Una.'

---

[40] In 'lexicon' languages, reflexive and reciprocal passives are ruled out in the Lexicon-Syntax approach since in these languages reflexives and reciprocals enter the derivation as already intransitive and have no internal argument necessary for a passive derivation to converge. In my analysis, SJA has to merge under Asp, where the accusative feature is reduced; since accusative is unavailable in passive derivations, the lack of reflexive and reciprocal passives in 'lexicon' languages is also accounted for.

Second, adjectival constructions with dative arguments are fully grammatical in the context of true object clitics, see (37b), but they are of significantly lower acceptability when used with *se*, see (37a); see section 2.3.2.3. The two frameworks can explain the murky grammaticality status of *se*-adjectives similarly, based on the idea that an adjective's internal arguments are not in fact prototypical arguments: they are always introduced as PPs and are normally optional (Baker 2003). If an adjective's internal arguments are generated as complements, which implies θ-assignment, then the derivation of *se*-adjectives is predicted to converge, similar to the case of *se*-verbs. On the other hand, if an adjective's internal arguments are generated as adjuncts, implying no θ-assignment, there is simply no internal θ-role to retain on the projection, hence no motivation for a last resort mechanism (which is at the heart of syntactic reflexivization and reciprocalization in both approaches, mutandis mutatis). [41] In other words, the murky grammaticality status of *se*-adjectives is due to optionality incorporated in the derivation of predicative adjectives: depending on the exact choices the computational system makes in specific derivations involving this optionality, *se*-adjectives might be either accepted or rejected by speakers.

(37) a. *?Ils   se   sont infidèles.

     they SE   are   unfaithful

    Intended: 'They are unfaithful to each other (or to themselves).'

  b. Ils   nous sont infidèles.

    they us   are   unfaithful

    'They are unfaithful to us.'

---

[41] Reflexivized and reciprocalized adjectives are completely impossible in 'lexicon' languages. In the Lexicon/Syntax parameter approach, this is expected if we assume (following Baker (2003)) that an adjective's external roles are only created in syntax by a Pred head that takes APs as complements. Lexical bundling (which affects the external and internal roles in the lexicon) cannot apply, as a result. In the L-Syntax/S-syntax approach developed here, the outright unavailability of reflexive and reciprocal adjectives in 'lexicon' languages falls out, too, given that Asp (where SJA has to merge) is not a part of adjectival derivations, to begin with.

Finally, in comparative ellipsis constructions, the comparative remnant can refer to the subject or to true object clitic pronouns in transitive constructions (38a) resulting in ambiguity, but usually only to the subject in the case of reflexive and reciprocal verbs (38b); see section 2.3.2.4. Despite the murky status of the object reading with *se*, the two types of clitics clearly contrast in this context.

(38) French:

    a. Lucie et   Louise nous rencontrent plus souvent que   leurs frères.

       Lucie and Louise us   meet(trans) more often   than their brothers

      (i) Subject reading:

         'Lucie and Louise meet us more often than their brothers meet us.'

      (ii) Object reading:

         'Lucie and Louise meet us more often than they meet their brothers.'

    b. Lucie et   Louise   se rencontrent   plus souvent que   leurs frères.

       Lucie and   Louise   SE meet   more often   than their brothers

      (i) Subject reading:

         'Lucie and Louise meet more often than their brothers meet.'

      (ii) Object reading:

         ??'Lucie and Louise meet more often than they meet their brothers.'

If the object reading with *se* were completely unavailable, the facts in (38) would be interpreted in a very straightforward way: *se* is not the syntactic object/argument of the verb, so it cannot be referred to by the comparative remnant. Indeed, the existing literature on reflexives and reciprocals presents the object reading with *se* as altogether unavailable (e.g. Siloni 2012).[42] The fact that

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[42] Whether or not the object reading in comparative ellipsis constructions involving reflexives and reciprocals is in fact perceived as possible by speakers in other 'syntax' languages is an empirical question. Given the analysis developed in the present section, I predict that other 'syntax' languages should not differ. I leave this issue for further investigation; note that, similar to the situation in French, linguists working on reflexive and reciprocal verbs in 'syntax' languages other

the object reading is in fact marginally acceptable complicates the picture. I will outline here what appears to be a solution to the puzzle. Briefly, I will first show that syntactically intransitive *se* reflexives and reciprocals are in fact semantically transitive in that their Agent and Theme roles are never fused into one role (cf. reflexives and reciprocals in 'lexicon' languages). I will then argue that the grammatical requirement of parallelism in comparative ellipsis constructions has a semantic (rather than syntactic) origin. In the light of the analysis of *se* verbs as semantically transitive, the object reading in comparative ellipsis constructions respects the requirement of semantic parallelism and is therefore predicted to be possible. On the other hand, if syntactic parallelism regulates parsing, the lack of syntactic parallelism in the object reading readily explains speakers' perception of this reading as only marginally available.

Starting with the issue of semantic transitivity, Labelle (2008) convincingly argues that while *se* reflexives and reciprocals are indeed *syntactically intransitive* (the internal role does not get mapped onto its canonical position), they should be analyzed as *semantically transitive* (the simplex roles Agent and Theme remain accessible to the computation system), based on their behaviour in Tussaud contexts (Jackendoff 1992). The key idea is that the two roles in *se* reflexives and reciprocals can be potentially associated with distinct referents, see (39).

(39) Examples from Labelle (2008):

    a. Luc a pu s' admirer au Musée Tussaud.
       Luc could SE admire at+the Museum Tussaud
       'Luc was able to admire himself (a statue of Luc) at the Tussaud Museum.'

    b. Au Musée Tussaud, Pierre et Luc ont pu s' admirer l'un l'autre.
       at Museum Tussaud, Pierre and Luc could SE admire each other
       'At the Tussaud Museum, Pierre and Luc could admire each other.'
       (Pierre admired a statue of Luc and Luc admired a statue of Pierre.)

---

than French traditionally consider the object reading to be ungrammatical (e.g. Miličević 2007, Zec 1985).

Addressing the nature of the parallelism effect, linguists engaged in the study of *se* reflexives and reciprocals (implicitly) assume that comparative ellipsis structures require syntactic parallelism between the antecedent phrase and the elided constituent (e.g. Dimitriadis 2004, Miličević 2007, Siloni 2012, Zec 1985) and treat comparative ellipsis as an objecthood test; note that this is a legitimate approach to ellipsis, argued for in Fiengo & May (1994), Hankamer & Sag (1976), Johnson (1997, 2001), Sag & Hankamer (1984), Wasow (1972), Williams (1977), amongst others. Consider (38b) again, repeated here as (40). The embedded clauses in readings (i) and (ii) reconstruct what is (potentially) missing from the original sentence. Reading (i) respects syntactic parallelism between the antecedent phrase in the matrix clause and the elided constituent in the embedded clause as the reconstructed part now includes the same intransitive verb as the matrix clause, so the two are syntactically parallel; reading (i) is the so-called subject (sloppy) reading standardly assumed to be available in the case of comparative ellipsis constructions with *se* verbs. By contrast, reading (ii) violates syntactic parallelism (and is therefore considered outright unavailable, contrary, to fact) as the reconstructed constituent contains a transitive verb (followed by a direct object) which is not syntactically identical to the intransitive *se* verb found in the matrix clause.

(40)   Lucie et   Louise   se rencontrent   plus souvent que   leurs frères.
       Lucie and   Louise   SE meet   more often   than their brothers
   (i) Lucie et Louise <u>se rencontrent</u> plus souvent que leurs frères [se rencontrent].
       Subject reading:
       'Lucie and Louise meet more often than their brothers meet.'
   (ii) ??<u>Lucie et Louise</u> se <u>rencontrent</u> plus souvent qu'[elles rencontrent] leurs
        frères.
       Object reading :
       'Lucie and Louise meet more often than they meet their brothers.'

Note however that much literature on ellipsis has in fact concluded that the requirement of syntactic parallelism is too strong, and it has been proposed that the parallelism effect has a semantic basis, instead (e.g. Cyrino and Matos (2007), Merchant (2001, 2004), Santos (2006)).[43] Semantic parallelism is interpreted as (roughly) a requirement of mutual entailment between the antecedent phrase and the elided constituent (e.g. Merchant's (2001) isomorphism constraint).

We are now in a position to explain the grammatical status of the object reading in comparative ellipsis constructions involving French reflexive and reciprocal verbs. In the light of the analysis of *se* verbs which treats them as semantically transitive, reading (ii) in (40) clearly respects the requirement of semantic parallelism and is no longer ruled out as ungrammatical. At the same time, note that while syntactic parallelism might not be an actual grammatical requirement on ellipsis constructions, it is reasonable to assume that it regulates their parsing (cf. Duffield and Matsuo 2009), resulting in native speakers' perception of the object reading as only marginally available.[44, 45, 46]

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[43] Thus, ellipsis constructions as in (i) are accepted by native speakers as possible to some extent (Duffield & Matsuo 2009), although they are standardly claimed to be ungrammatical in the theoretical literature (e.g. Hankamer & Sag 1976). It seems that violations of syntactic parallelism in ellipsis constructions is dispreferred but not altogether rejected.

(i) a. The garbage had to be put out, but I didn't want to.

   b. The mention of her sister's name annoyed Sally, but Tom did, out of spite.

[44] Consider a comparative ellipsis construction with a *se* verb in a context that necessitates the object reading. The availability of the semantically but not syntactically parallel object reading can be seen as reminiscent of garden-path sentence processing: the parser initially prefers the syntactically parallel subject (sloppy) reading; when the preferred parse fails as far as the context is concerned, the initially dispreferred object reading may be selected instead (cf. a slightly different proposal along the same lines in Duffield & Matsuo (2009)).

Interestingly, when strong reflexive/reciprocal pronouns (*lui-même* 'himself', *l'un l'autre*) accompany *se*-verbs in comparative ellipsis constructions, the object reading becomes more acceptable, see (i). This is expected in my analysis since these strong pronouns enhance syntactic parallelism between the matrix clause and the embedded clause.

To take stock, similar to the syntactic diagnostics involving passives and adjectives with dative arguments, the comparative ellipsis construction demonstrates that *se* and true clitic pronouns behave differently, as far as the interpretation of this structure is concerned: while the subject reading is equally available in the two cases, the object reading is fully available with true object pronouns and only marginally available in the case of *se*. The analysis presented in this section reconciles (via the notion of semantic transitivity) the intransitive approach to *se* reflexives and reciprocals with the marginal availability of the object reading with these verbs.

3.4 Taking Stock

In sum, I began this chapter with an overview of the Lexicon-Syntax approach to the analysis of reflexive and reciprocal verbs (section 3.1). I concluded that this proposal faces a number of problems, proposing as an alternative that in 'lexicon'

(i). Lucie et   Louise se rencontrent   l'une l'autre plus   souvent   que Denise et   Diane.
   Lucie and   Louise SE *meet   each other   more often   than Denise and Diane*
   (a) Subject reading: 'Lucie and Louise meet more often than Denise and Diane meet.'
   (b) Object reading: 'Lucie and Louise meet more often than they meet Denise and Diane.'

[45] Note, for example, that psycholinguistic studies have shown that there is an obvious parallelism effect in processing of equally grammatical sentences even when they involve simple coordination (Frazier et al. 1984, 2000); see (i) where (ia) is processed more readily than (ib) due to the fact that the conjuncts in (ia) are structurally parallel while in (ib) they are not (the examples are from Duffield & Matsuo (2009)).

(i) a. Jane found a silver coin and a bronze cup.
     b. Jane found a silver coin and a cup.

[46] To briefly address the status of comparative ellipsis constructions in 'lexicon' languages, recall that lexical reflexives and reciprocals are both syntactically and semantically intransitive (the 'bundled' Agent-Theme role is not further *linguistically* decomposable). It is then predicted that – unlike 'syntactic' reflexives and reciprocals – 'lexical' reflexive and reciprocal verbs should not allow the object reading in comparative ellipsis constructions, not even marginally. This prediction is borne out.

languages reflexive and reciprocal verbs are formed in L-syntax which straightforwardly accounts for their non-productivity, symmetry in reciprocals, as well as for other properties traditionally associated with the lexicon. The reflexive/reciprocal affix is merged under Asp which immediately explains accusative case absorption facts. The complex role assigned to the subject is created through independently motivated operations (i.e. substitution linking and argument binding); these latter operations are restricted to act on a single argument structure hence ECM reflexivization and reciprocalization are ruled out. In 'syntax' languages, the reflexive/reciprocal marker is introduced in S-syntax resulting in productivity of verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization, non-obligatory symmetry in reciprocals and availability of accusative case. A repair mechanism responsible for syntactic reflexivization and reciprocalization acts on variables rather than on θ-roles yielding a one-place predicate in lieu of a two-place predicate, which correctly predicts ECM reflexives and reciprocals to be possible and effectively rules out reflexivization/reciprocalization that involves more than two co-arguments. Since this last resort operation is triggered by the Agent role introduction by a mediating head (v), the grammaticality of ECM constructions with embedded reflexivization is also correctly predicted (section 3.2). Finally, in section 3.3 I readdress the three diagnostics used in the experimental part of this thesis to explain the difference in the behaviour of *se* and true object pronouns in a principled way.

4. Reflexives and Reciprocals in Language Acquisition and Effects of Explicit Instruction: A review of the literature

This chapter reviews L1 and L2 acquisition research pertaining to reflexivity and reciprocity, and more specifically to reflexive and reciprocal verbs. It also discusses L2 studies that look at explicit instruction and examine its effects. Since monomorphemic markers of detransitivity are often analyzed as anaphoric pronouns, many studies of binding conditions (in L1 acquisition) and parameter resetting issues (in L2 acquisition) shed some light on the acquisition of reflexive verbs, too. After briefly covering this type of research (section 4.1.1), I focus on L2 studies that look into reflexive and reciprocal verbs more directly (sections 4.1.2 through 4.1.4) and have important implications for the present thesis. In particular, gaining inspiration from Montrul's (1997, 2000) research and proposals, Miličević (2007) examines the issue of transitivity alternations that involve reflexive and reciprocal verbs in the L2 Italian of native speakers of English and Serbian (section 4.1.2). Belikova (2008a) explores the issue of parameter resetting with regards to verbal reciprocalization in 'lexicon' (L1 Russian) vs. 'syntax' (L2 French) languages (section 4.1.3). Belikova (2008b), a pilot study which the present thesis crucially draws on, focuses on the possibility of overriding the linguistically misleading classroom instruction with respect to the French clitic *se*, which misanalyzes this detransitivity marker as a reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun (section 4.1.4). Finally, section 4.2 examines previous L2 studies looking at explicit instruction to answer the question of whether explicit rules have ever been found to truly affect linguistic competence.

4.1   Previous Studies of Acquisition of Reflexives and Reciprocals

4.1.1 Introductory Remarks

Much of acquisition research having to do with reflexivity (and reciprocity) has focused on anaphors. At the same time there have been differing assumptions in both theoretical and acquisition research with regards to the status of certain reflexive (and reciprocal) markers. Following Pica (1987), reflexive anaphors are

often divided into morphologically complex (or compound) reflexives (e.g. *X-self* anaphors in English) and simplex (or non-compound, mono-morphemic) ones (e.g. *zibun* in Japanese); both types of anaphors are assumed to undergo LF movement (Pica 1987, Reinhart & Reuland 1993, amongst others). Morphologically complex anaphors are argued to be phrasal (maximal) projections X^{max} which adjoin to the nearest maximal projection (VP); this determines their binding domain as local (either subject or object). By contrast, simplex anaphors are analyzed as heads X^o and raise by head movement to Infl or to Agr. Since raising to Infl may occur cyclically and only subjects c-command reflexives in Infl, simplex anaphors are expected to allow long-distance binding and require a subject antecedent. In this framework, all reflexive mono-morphemic markers – except those that are clearly a part of verbal morphology (e.g. the Russian suffix *-sja*, the Hebrew prefix *hit-*) – were almost overwhelmingly analyzed as simplex anaphors, including reflexive clitics in Romance and some Slavic (e.g. Czech, Serbo-Croatian) languages, the element *zich*/*sich* in Dutch and German, etc.[1] Most L1 and L2 research conducted in the Government and Binding (GB) framework follows this tradition. Recall, however, that in section 2.3, I have argued that the French *se* is not in fact a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun and *se* reflexives and reciprocals behave as intransitives syntactically; similar argumentation can be applied to reflexive and reciprocal clitics in many other languages, as well as to the Dutch/German *zich*/*sich* marker (e.g. see Miličević 2007, Reinhart & Reuland 1993, Reinhart & Siloni 2005, Siloni 2012, amongst others). It turns out that some L1 and L2 research intended to look into anaphors has in fact (unintentionally) examined reflexive and reciprocal verbs, instead.

Starting with L1 acquisition research that deals with reflexivity (and reciprocity), it mostly focuses on acquisition of Principle A of the binding theory

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[1] However, note that unlike true simplex anaphors which allow long-distance binding, Romance and Slavic reflexive clitics and the element *zich*/*sich* in Dutch and German all require a local antecedent (in GB terms; see section 2.3 for some discussion).

(Chomsky 1981) showing that anaphoric expressions abide by Principle A (i.e. they are bound in their local domain) from very early on, both in production (from about 2 years) (e.g. Bloom et al. 1994, Jakubowicz 1994) and comprehension (from about 3 years) (e.g. Chien & Wexler 1990, McKee 1992). However, since Jakubowicz (1994) examined what she believed were French and Danish simplex anaphors (via elicited production) and McKee (1992) looked into the Italian reflexive clitic (via truth value judgments), from our perspective these types of studies in fact suggest that reflexive verbs (rather than reflexive anaphors) are interpreted correctly and are used productively from earlier on. The same conclusion is reached more directly in Barrière et al. (1999, 2000) and Barrière and Perlman Lorch (2006) who examine longitudinal and cross-sectional data from French-speaking children, which also show that reflexive and reciprocal uses of the French clitic *se* are productive from very early on.

Quite a few L1 acquisition studies have also dealt with acquisition of pronominal clitics in Romance languages, in particular in the context of object drop. Since *se* is closely related to pronominal clitics (and is sometimes traditionally viewed as a pronominal clitic, as we have seen), these studies also often address acquisition of *se*, to an extent. Most notably, French non-reflexive object clitics emerge in production significantly later than reflexive clitics, between the ages of 2;6 and 3;0, object drop being the most common error (see, for example, Paradis et al. (2006: 40), based on a large body of sources cited therein).

As far as L2 acquisition of reflexivity is concerned, numerous studies have been conducted which mostly deal with resetting of parameters responsible for crosslinguistic differences in the distribution of anaphors; in fact, this was one of the first topics to be investigated in generative SLA. Since L2 studies dealing with anaphors are not directly relevant to this thesis I will only briefly address some of their findings. L2 learners whose L1 and L2 differ with respect to the reflexive parameter (X^{max} vs. X^o) and/or the availability of the long-distance binding of the simplex anaphor across tense, often arrive at an interlanguage grammar that is different from both the L1 and the L2 (i.e. the combination of parameter settings

reflects nether the L1 nor the L2; see discussion in White (2003)). For example, MacLaughlin (1998) examines (via a coreference judgment task) L2 acquisition of the English morphologically complex anaphor *X-self* which requires local binding (either by a subject or an object). L2 subjects were native speakers of Chinese and Japanese, i.e. languages with both phrasal (which behave similarly to the English *X-self*) and simplex anaphors which are subject oriented and allow both long-distance binding across tense and local binding. While six participants treated the English *X-self* appropriately (i.e. suggesting the L2 combination of the relevant parameter settings) and two other participants treated the English *X-self* as the L1 simplex anaphor, there were seven participants who allowed long-distance binding only out of non-finite clauses, implying a combination of parameter settings found in languages like Russian. On the other hand, Thomas (1995) examines (via truth value judgments) L2 acquisition of the Japanese simplex reflexive *zibun* by native speakers of English. In this study, some low-proficiency L2ers consistently accepted long-distance object antecedents, thus apparently compromising Universal Grammar (UG) involvement in L2 acquisition as such binding of a simplex anaphor is not attested, cross-linguistically. Thomas (1995) suggests that the simplex anaphor might have been misanalyzed as a pronoun by these L2ers.

Similar to L1 acquisition studies referred to above, most L2 research conducted in the GB framework has treated Romance reflexive clitics as simplex anaphors. As a result, some research calls for re-assessment in the light of the compelling evidence that the Romance reflexive clitic is not an anaphor, but a detransitivity marker. Thus, Thomas (1989) investigates L2 acquisition of the English *X-self* by native speakers of Chinese and Spanish and assumes that the Spanish reflexive clitic is an anaphoric pronoun that requires local binding (similar to the English anaphor), while Chinese allows long-distance binding. Against this assumed background, Spanish speakers are predicted to outperform Chinese learners of English, but this prediction is not borne out as both groups of L2ers in the study performed (roughly) alike, allowing non-local antecedents about one-third of the time. Note, however, that under the view that Romance reflexive clitics are in fact

detransitivity markers rather than reflexive anaphors, there is no reason to expect Spanish-speaking learners to outperform Chinese-speaking learners of English on anaphoric pronouns, and hence the results appear to be less puzzling.[2] Similarly, White et al. (1997) look into L2 acquisition of the English *X-self* by native speakers of Japanese (which behaves on a par with Chinese) and French (behaving on a par with Spanish). The results in White et al. (1997) are largely similar to those in Thomas (1989) as far as long-distance binding is concerned: both groups of L2ers accepted long-distance antecedents to (roughly) the same extent, about one third of the time. Again, this finding appears to be less surprising if French-speaking learners of English are not assumed to start out with an interlanguage that necessarily analyzes the English anaphor as locally bound (i.e. Full Transfer, as in Schwartz & Sprouse (1996)); in other words, since French *se* reflexives are not formed via syntactic binding, there is no relevant L1 structure that the L2 anaphoric constructions could be initially mapped onto,[3] and L2ers are free to hypothesize long-distance antecedents for the L2 anaphor, which could perhaps be a default option. (Indeed, McDaniel et al. (1990) notes that the English *X-self* is not initially restricted to local antecedent in L1 acquisition, either.)

Several L2 acquisition studies have also focused on reflexive and reciprocal verbs more directly, but mostly in the context of transitivity alternations (e.g. Tsimpli 2006, Miličević 2007, amongst others). In the next few sections, I will go over a few such studies; in particular, Miličević (2007) (section 4.1.2) and Belikova (2008b) (section 4.1.4) have implications that are especially important for the present thesis.

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[2] Indeed, there is no reason to expect that Spanish-speaking learners of English will assume (even initially) that English anaphoric constructions should be treated like Spanish intransitive reflexive verbs.

[3] White et al. (1997) note that French also has the morphologically complex reflexive *X-même* which behaves similarly to the English *X-self*; however, as discussed in section 2.2.3, French and English anaphors have in fact very different distributions.

4.1.2 Miličević (2007)

Miličević (2007) explores the issue of transitivity alternations that involve reflexive and reciprocal verbs in the L2 Italian of native speakers of English and Serbian.[4] The idea behind the study is to test the predictions of two approaches to L2 transfer. Briefly, transfer can be viewed as monolithic (e.g. Schwartz & Sprouse 1996, Whong-Barr 2005) or as modular (Montrul 1997, 2000), i.e. the debate is whether or not all domains of interlanguage grammar are equally susceptible to L1 influence. Montrul's (1997, 2000) research testing various transitivity alternations suggests that the L2 acquisition of the derivational morphology associated with these alternations is indeed extensively affected by L1 transfer, whereas L2 acquisition of argumental structure is determined by default linguistic templates (given by UG), similar to L1 acquisition where particular transitivity errors are regularly attested, see (1) (the examples are from Lord (1979)).

(1)   a. I'm singing him. (3;1)

      b. I'm gonna <…> disappear something under the wash rag. (3;7)

As will become apparent in chapter 7, what is important for the present thesis is that intermediate English-speaking learners of Spanish did not readily accept correct unaccusative forms marked with *se* and they incorrectly accepted intransitive zero-derived forms some of the time. This clearly differed from the performance of intermediate Turkish speakers in the same conditions where they accepted marked unaccusatives (grammatical) and rejected unmarked ones (ungrammatical). These results strongly suggest L1 transfer of derivational morphology; in particular, they suggest that English-speaking learners initially assume that L2 unaccusative verbs are formed with null-morphology, similar to the corresponding L1 verbs.

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[4] Miličević (2007) also examines L2 Serbian and L2 English of native speakers of Italian, which I will not discuss here.

Miličević (2007) tests Montrul's (1997, 2000) proposal with a new type of data, i.e. reflexive and reciprocal verbs in the L2 Italian of native speakers of English and Serbian. The main characteristics of English reflexives and reciprocals are discussed in section 2.2 of the present thesis; to briefly recap, verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization in English are lexically restricted and employ null morphology (and anaphoric constructions are used productively). As for Italian and Serbian, these languages are generally similar to French (also covered in section 2.2). In Italian and Serbian, verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization are productive and involve a clitic (*si*) that acts as a detransitivity marker (similar to French). One difference is that while French disallows transitives with reflexive and reciprocal pronouns altogether (i.e. clitic doubling is obligatory with both types of anaphoric pronouns), the two other languages behave somewhat differently. Serbian allows such transitive constructions (subject to certain discourse-pragmatic constraints similar to those discussed in section 2.2.3) but disallows clitic doubling. On the other hand, Italian bans transitives with reciprocal pronouns and clitic doubling with reflexive pronouns (i.e. reflexive pronouns are only grammatical in the absence of *si*).

The main task in Miličević (2007) is a picture judgement task (PJT) which draws on Montrul's (1997, 2000) design: pictures illustrating particular reflexive or reciprocal events (and a number of events normally rendered by non-alternating unaccusative verbs) are accompanied by sentences to be marked for acceptability. There were four major conditions which differed as to the type of morphological marking they involved, see (2), with four types of verbs appearing in each condition: reflexives, as in (3a), reciprocals, as in (3b), unaccusatives, as in (3c) and unergatives, as in (3d).[5]

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[5] Since reflexivization and reciprocalization are productive in Italian and they employ the same clitic *si*, *si*-verbs, i.e. all verbs in (3a-b), are in fact ambiguous between the reflexive and reciprocal reading. The idea is then that the verbs in (3a) were paired with pictures showing reflexive events while the verbs in (3b) were paired with pictures showing reciprocal events.

(2)   a. Clitic condition: refl/rec clitic + verb

   b. Pronoun condition: verb + refl/rec anaphoric pronoun

   c. Clitic doubling condition: refl/rec clitic + verb + refl/rec anaphoric
      pronoun

   d. Unmarked condition: verb (i.e. no morphological marking)

(3)   Italian:[6]
   a. reflexive verbs: lavare 'wash', vestire 'dress',
                            amare 'love', odiare 'hate';
   b. reciprocal verbs :   baciare 'kiss', conoscere 'meet',
                            uccidere 'kill', ferire 'wound';
   c. unaccusative verbs: sparire 'disappear', arrivare 'arrive';
   d. unergative verbs: conversare 'converse', negoziare 'negotiate'.

The rationale is that if acquisition of argumental structure is governed by UG
(Montrul 1997, 2000), transitivity errors should be observed in both groups of
learners, resulting in acceptance of unaccusative and unergative verbs in the three
'marked' conditions (the so-called transitivization of intransitives).[7] Moreover, if
L2 derivational morphology is indeed susceptible to L1 influence (Montrul 1997),

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[6] The specific unaccusatives (*disappear*, *arrive*, *fall*, *escape*) and unergatives (certain non-derived
verbs expressing reciprocity which is inherent to the concept in question: *converse*, *negotiate*,
collaborate, *communicate*) used in the study do not have any morphological marking and do not
alternate between a transitive and an intransitive use in the three languages involved in the study.
In the pronoun and clitic doubling conditions, the unaccusatives were combined with reflexive
pronouns, while the unergative verbs were combined with reciprocal pronouns. (However, note
that many other unaccusatives in Italian and Serbian are in fact morphologically marked and do
alternate.)

[7] Miličević (2007) also hypothesizes that all L2ers may observe another type of transitivity errors,
i.e. accepting unmarked reflexives and reciprocals (which Miličević (2007) sees as
detransitivization of transitives), which is problematic since it clearly interferes with the issue of
morphological marking (null in English and overt in Serbian and Italian).

English-speaking participants should accept Italian reflexives and reciprocals in the unmarked condition and reject them in the clitic condition more often than Serbian-speaking L2ers.[8] In addition, both groups of L2ers should generally accept reflexives and reciprocals in the pronoun condition.[9]

The results in Miličević (2007) somewhat support the idea that L2 acquisition of argumental structure is determined by UG, based on certain transitivity errors found in both groups of L2ers.[10] As for derivational morphology (which is more relevant for the present thesis), unlike what was predicted and apparently at odds with Montrul's (1997, 2000) findings, both groups accepted reflexives and reciprocals in the clitic condition to the same extent as the control group. In the unmarked condition, while native controls and Serbian-speaking L2ers performed similarly, judging unmarked reflexives and reciprocals as 'unacceptable' most of the time, English-speaking L2ers performed significantly differently, judging unmarked verbs as 'somewhat unacceptable'.[11] (Although English speakers performed differently from the other groups, their performance on unmarked reflexives and reciprocals in L2 Italian is better than English speakers'

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[8] The exact prediction, according to Miličević (2007), is that English-speaking L2ers should accept grooming reflexives and reciprocals in the unmarked condition more often than other verbs.

[9] For additional predictions, the corresponding findings and further discussion see Miličević (2007).

[10] In particular, unaccusatives and unergatives were not always rejected in the marked conditions, which is particularly obvious in the clitic condition. At the same time it is not true that the two groups of L2ers observed this type of error to the same extent, as English-speaking L2ers accepted 'marked' unaccusatives and unergatives significantly more often than Serbian-speaking L2ers. See Miličević (2007) for further details and discussion.

[11] As noted in footnote 8, English-speaking L2ers were expected to accept those unmarked reflexives and reciprocals that correspond to grooming reflexives and interaction reciprocals that are unmarked in English. Upon closer examination, unmarked grooming and interaction verbs were less readily rejected than non-grooming and non-interaction ones by upper-intermediate English-speaking L2ers. However, no such difference was observed in the lower-intermediate group.

performance on unmarked unaccusatives in L2 Spanish in Montrul (1997, 2000).[12]) Moreover, both groups of L2ers largely accepted both reflexives and reciprocals in the pronoun condition, thus apparently confirming the idea that L2 morphology is indeed affected by L1 transfer.

What is particularly relevant to the present thesis is the finding that derivational morphology may be affected by L1 transfer. In particular, it is likely that English-speaking L2ers initially hypothesize that reflexives and reciprocals in an L2 are formed with null morphology. Although Miličević's (2007) results do not immediately lead to such a conclusion (after all, unmarked reflexives and reciprocals are never on the 'acceptable' side of the scale), the difference in rejection rates of unmarked verbs between native speakers of English (which licenses null morphology) and native speakers of Serbian (which does not license null morphology) could be explained in terms of residual transfer. In addition, recall that Montrul's (1997, 2000) studies also suggest that English-speaking learners initially assume null-morphology in the target L2 (for Spanish unaccusative verbs), which reinforces the residual transfer interpretation of the abovementioned findings in Miličević (2007).

Finally, a number of studies confirm that English-speaking L2ers persist in omitting detransitive morphology in verbs where null morphology is used in English. Thus, Adjémian (1983) examines English-speaking learners' spontaneous production in L2 French and reports *se* omission in verbs with reflexive morphology as well as in proper reflexive verbs. Toth (2000) looks into beginner English-speaking learners' production in L2 Spanish and reports persistent *se* omission (even after explicit instruction on the different uses of *se*) in alternating and non-alternating unaccusatives and some unergatives where

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[12] This discrepancy (i.e. English speakers' better performance on marked and unmarked verbs in L2 Italian than in L2 Spanish) could be explained in terms of different proficiency of English speakers in the two studies, in terms of different L2s (Italian vs. Spanish), in terms of some methodological differences or in terms of different types of verbs tested (reflexives/reciprocals vs. unaccustives). The last explanation is the most plausible: the productivity and consistency of *se* morphology with reflexive and reciprocal verbs is more robust in the input (and is therefore likely to be acquired with relative ease) than the unaccusative morphological marking.

reflexive morphology is obligatory in Spanish, while the corresponding English verbs are not marked morphologically.

I will therefore conclude that it is indeed plausible that English-speaking learners initially assume that their L2 employs null morphology, and in particular, it is very plausible as far as reflexive and reciprocal verbs are concerned.

4.1.3 Belikova (2008a)

Belikova (2008a) explores the possibility of true parameter resetting (and hence UG access) in adult L2 acquisition, adopting the Lexicon-Syntax parameter laid out in detail in sections 2.2.2 and 3.1; the L1 in the study is Russian, a 'lexicon' language, and the L2 is French, a 'syntax' language. The study focuses on acquisition of two properties of the parameter, i.e. productivity (see section 2.2.2) and discontinuity (see section 3.1.4). The rationale is that if UG is operative in adult L2 acquisition, true parameter resetting should be possible, i.e. the acquisition of the prominent properties associated with the 'syntax' setting in French, such as productivity, should trigger resetting of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter in the interlanguage grammar, and as a result, the knowledge that discontinuous reciprocals are not licensed in French should fall out. One of the background assumptions is that the ungrammaticality of discontinuous reciprocals is a subtle property of 'syntax' languages, hence speakers of 'lexicon' languages where discontinuity is licensed are not likely to pick it up from just observing the L2 input and it is not likely that they are explicitly taught this property of the target L2. Another assumption is that Russian speakers acquiring French start off by assuming the L1 – 'lexicon' – setting for the L2 French (in accordance with the 'full transfer' model as in Schwartz & Sprouse (1996)); when the L1-based hypothesis fails to account for some of the target L2 input (such as the productivity of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in French), this leads to restructuring of the interlanguage grammar, including parameter resetting.

Unfortunately, what complicates this acquisition scenario is that 'syntax' languages may actually license reciprocals in the discontinuous construction as 'isolated' *lexicalized* cases, according to Siloni (2012); see section 3.1.4. As a

result, there would be in fact nothing wrong, UG-wise, with an interlanguage grammar that displays properties associated with the 'syntax' setting (such as productivity of reflexive and reciprocal verbs), due to restructuring, along with discontinuous reciprocals, due to L1 transfer. It can be reasonably argued that when interlanguage grammars shift the locus of verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization from the lexicon to the syntax, reciprocals can be still allowed in the discontinuous construction if L2ers reanalyze them as *lexicalized* instances of syntactic reciprocal verbs. In other words, upon closer inspection, the apparent straightforwardness of the prediction outlined above is an oversimplification. Whether or not L2ers end up knowing that discontinuous reciprocals are not licensed in French, the restructuring scenario will be UG-compatible.[13]

Pretheoretically, it is also possible that when an L1-based interlanguage grammar with the lexicon setting of the Lexicon-Syntax parameter fails to deal with the productivity of reflexivization and reciprocalization (as well as with reflexivization and reciprocalization of ECM predicates, availability of direct objects, etc.) in French, the restructuring of the interlanguage grammar that takes place does not reset the parameter but misanalyzes *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun. Crucially, anaphoric constructions are not compatible with discontinuity crosslinguistically, see (4), so if *se* is reanalyzed as an anaphoric pronoun, the ungrammaticality of discontinuous reciprocals should fall out in this transfer-based acquisition scenario.

(4) Russian:

*Ivan	celuet	drug druga	s	Mashej.
Ivan	kisses(trans)	each other	with	Masha

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[13] Note that a UG access view on L2 acquisition, such as advocated by the Full Transfer Full Access hypothesis (FTFA) of Schwartz & Sprouse (1996), does not predict L2ers to always arrive at an analysis of the L2 input identical to that of a native speaker; it merely guarantees a UG-constrained analysis.

The immediate question is whether it is possible to discriminate between the parameter resetting scenario and the scenario involving the pronoun misanalysis of *se* if both result in the knowledge of non-discontinuity. The two acquisition scenarios can be in fact teased apart with constructions such as reflexivized and reciprocalized passives (discussed in sections 2.3.2.2 and 3.3.2). Briefly, if L2ers reject discontinuous reciprocals and also judge reflexivized and reciprocalized passives as impossible, the parameter resetting scenario is implied. By contrast, if learners reject discontinuous reciprocals and accept *se* passives, the pronoun misanalysis of *se* is implied instead.

Turning to the design in Belikova (2008a), two groups of subjects participated in the study: advanced-intermediate Russian-speaking learners of French and a control group of native French speakers. The experiment involved a grammaticality judgment task (GJT) on French sentences with reciprocal verbs. After the completion of the GJT, participants were asked to translate or rephrase each French sentence they judged as possible, and correct sentences they judged as impossible. Experimental items included French sentences involving reciprocals that are found cross-linguistically (in both French and Russian), see (5), productive reciprocal verbs (found only in French), see (6), discontinuous reciprocals (ungrammatical in French), see (7), and passive constructions with *se*, see (8a), and true clitic pronouns, see (8b).

(5)   Madonna   et   Britney se sont embrassées   pendant un gala télévisé.
      Madonna   and   Britney kissed(rec)   during   a   performance

(6)   Les   familles de Roméo   et   Juliette se détestent   vraiment.
      the   families of Romeo   and   Juliet   hate(rec)   really

(7)   *Brigitte   s'est embrassée   avec Marc   à   la   fin   du   film.
       Bridget   kissed(rec)   with Mark   in the   end   of+the   movie

(8)a.   Roméo et   Juliette nous sont présentés   par   Shakespeare.

         Romeo   and   Juliet   us   are   presented   by   Shakespeare

         'Romeo and Juliet are presented to us by Shakespeare'

   b.   *Brigitte   et   Marc se   sont présentés   par   Una.

         Bridget   and   Mark SE   are   presented   by   Una

         Intended meaning:

         'Bridget and Mark are presented to each other by Una.'

The overall GJT results are shown in table 1. On the whole, native controls performed as expected, with over 90% accuracy on all items. As for French L2 speakers, the observed overall pattern did not fall into any of the expected scenarios. On average, L2ers were quite accurate at accepting both cross-linguistic and productive reciprocals. They also seemed to know that *se* does not (generally) behave on a par with object pronouns, treating the two types of clitics differently. However, on average, L2ers exhibited at-chance performance with discontinuous reciprocals.

Table 1. Summary of results per sentence type (acceptance %).

	Interaction reciprocals	Productive reciprocals	Discont. reciprocals	Passives	
				se	clitic pro-nouns
Native Controls (n = 7)	97.1	100	0	0	92.9[14]
L2ers (n = 14)	97.1	91.4	47.6	33.9	83.9

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[14] Note a minor discrepancy between the acceptance rate for native controls originally reported in Belikova (2008a), namely 89.3% acceptance of passives with object clitic pronouns, and in table 1 (92.9%); this discrepancy is due to careful re-examination of the results of the correction task which revealed that one item was rejected for an irrelevant reason.

On the other hand, upon closer examination, L2ers did not perform uniformly; the performance of four L2ers was compatible with the parameter resetting scenario, in particular if the requirement for 0% acceptance rate of discontinuous reciprocals is loosened given that instances of lexical reciprocals are in fact allowed in 'syntax' languages.

4.1.4 Belikova (2008b)

Belikova (2008b) focuses on a different aspect of adult L2 acquisition of French reciprocal (and reflexive) verbs, entertaining the possibility of overriding the linguistically misleading classroom instruction with respect to the clitic *se*, which misanalyzes this detransitivity marker as a reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun. Based on discussion in section 2.2.4, there is a good reason to believe that the misanalysis advanced in the classroom is not just wrong for French (see diagnostics in section 2.3), but it might not be a natural possibility to entertain, UG-wise. To briefly recap, French clearly displays valence-decreasing verbal morphology and is therefore expected to have verbal reflexives and reciprocals. However, if *se* is analyzed as a pronoun, the language ends up lacking verbal reflexives and reciprocals which goes against the said generalization. The bottom line is that if adult L2 acquisition is guided by knowledge of what natural grammars may look like, L2 speakers of French should not hypothesize that it lacks reflexive and reciprocal verbs, and hence may not adopt the pronominal analysis of *se* (but see further discussion of this issue below). Viewing Belikova (2008b) as a pilot study, the present thesis draws on it and follows up on its findings, while revisiting and refining its methodology and design.

Most L2 research seeking to demonstrate UG access in L2 acquisition has looked at L2 properties that are uninstructed; the rationale is that instructed properties are not truly 'underdetermined', and therefore, UG cannot unambiguously be implicated in cases of L2ers' success. Despite this well-established tradition, Belikova (2008b) suggests that we should, in fact, look into acquisition of certain instructed L2 properties: in particular, those for which explicit instruction appears to be linguistically misleading but makes perfect sense

logically. Such instructed L2 properties are still underdetermined and even more so than in uninstructed scenarios, *ceteris paribus*. In these cases, L2ers are explicitly led in the wrong direction, so if they still converge on the native-like representation – or otherwise demonstrate clear resistance to the explicit rule – that should be taken as evidence that they rely on knowledge of what a natural language grammar can and cannot look like, suggesting that UG is still operative.

Revisiting Belikova (2008a), Belikova (2008b) focuses on the data from passive constructions. As discussed, passive constructions demonstrate that *se* does not behave on a par with true pronominal clitics. Although the overall L2ers' rejection rate for reciprocalized passives was not as good as in the case of native controls, it is still clear that they treated passives differently in the two conditions: adjusting the acceptance rates based on careful re-examination of participants' profiles and data, 88.5% acceptance rate with object clitic pronouns versus 28.9% acceptance rate with *se;* see table 2.[15]

Table 2. Results for Passives (acceptance %).

	L2ers (n=13)	Native controls (n=7)
passives with clitic pronouns	**88.5**	**92.9**
passives with *se*	**28.9**	**0**

As we already have seen from Belikova (2008a), L2ers did not perform uniformly. If only those 10 L2 participants who consistently accepted passives with pronominal clitics are considered, 3 learners tended to always accept *se* in passives, whereas the other 7 participants always rejected it. It is striking that only 3 out of 10 L2ers treated *se* as a pronominal clitics in passive constructions. After all, the pronoun misanalysis of *se* is consistently encouraged by explicit

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[15] One L2er (out of 14 L2 subjects originally involved in the study in Belikova (2008a)) was subsequently excluded based on a biased performance as well as clearly significantly lower French proficiency comparatively to other L2 participants, which caused a minor change in the acceptance rate.

instruction, superficial L2 input observation and patterns found in the L1 (see section 5.1 and appendix D for a detailed discussion). If adult L2 acquisition relied mainly on problem-solving and general cognitive strategies, we should have observed more L2ers who adopt the *se* misanalysis.

The new task reported on in Belikova (2008b) is a (version of) truth value judgments (TVJT) involving ellipsis constructions discussed in sections 2.3.2.4 and 3.3.2, see (9). The ellipsis construction is another environment where the behavior of *se* clearly contrasts with that of true pronominal clitics. Since *se* is not the object of the verb, it cannot be readily referred to by the comparative remnant (hence the object reading in (9b) is not normally available, unlike the subject reading which is perfectly natural); by contrast, the comparative remnant can naturally refer to the subject or to true object clitic pronouns in transitive constructions, see (9a), resulting in ambiguity.

(9) French:

a. Lucie et   Louise **me**   rencontrent plus souvent que   leurs frères.
   Lucie and Louise me   meet(trans) more often   than their brothers
   (i) 'Lucie and Louise meet me more often than their brothers meet me.'
   (ii) 'Lucie and Louise meet me more often than they meet their brothers.'

b. Lucie et   Louise **se** rencontrent   plus souvent que   leurs frères.
   Lucie and Louise meet(rec/refl)   more often   than their brothers
   (i) 'Lucie and Louise meet more often than their brothers meet.'
   (ii) ??'Lucie and Louise meet more often than they meet their brothers.'

The TVJT was completed by seven L2ers, a subgroup of subjects from Belikova (2008a), and by eight native controls. For each experimental item, L2ers were presented with a Russian context which made one of the two target readings necessarily true, but contained no relevant information for determining the truth value of the second reading.[16] Subjects were asked whether or not a French

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[16] Native French controls were presented with contexts in English; it was ensured that their

sentence that followed a context was appropriate given the described scenario.[17] In a scenario making the subject reading of the sentence true (10a), the target response is that the French sentence is appropriate (or follows from the context); in a scenario making the (unnatural) object reading true (10b), the target response is that the sentence is not appropriate (or does not follow from the context). In the case of test items with true transitive constructions, the target response is 'appropriate' (or 'follows from the context') in both types of scenarios.

(10) a. Scenario:

Michelle and Marie are roommates, so they meet each other every day. In contrast, Paul and Pierre meet each other only once a year, since Paul lives in Canada and Pierre lives in France.

Sentence:

Michelle et   Marie se rencontrent plus souvent que Paul et   Pierre.
Michelle and Marie meet(rec)   more often   than Paul and Pierre

b. Scenario:

Michelle and Martine live in Montreal and meet each other twice a month. Once a month, they go to Toronto to visit their friend Serge, and once a month they go to Ottawa to visit their friend Sébastien.

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proficiency in English was at least as high as L2er's proficiency in French.

[17] A more straightforward design (where in each context, one of the readings is necessarily true, while the other is necessarily false) was in fact piloted, too, but turned out to be problematic. Since the object reading is somewhat less prominent than the subject reading in transitive constructions, even native speakers had difficulty judging an ambiguous sentence as true when the context made the more prominent (subject) reading false (contra the premises of the so-called Principle of Charity; see section 6.3.4.1 for further discussion of this problem). As a result, the design was changed in such a way that each scenario triggered only one of the readings by making it true; the rationale is that participants should be more likely to accept a sentence in its less prominent reading if only this reading is triggered by the context.

Sentence:

Michelle et   Martine se rencontrent plus   souvent que Serge et Sébastien.

Michelle and Martine meet(rec)   more often   than Serge & Sébastien

Turning now to the results, presented in table 3 below, native controls and L2ers behaved in a similar manner, i.e. both groups treated ellipsis constructions with *se* and object clitic pronouns differently. While the acceptance rate for the two readings is largely the same in the case of pronominal clitics, it is clearly different in ellipsis constructions involving *se*.[18] Specifically, the two groups accepted the object reading with *se* only 17.9% (L2ers) and 21.9% (native controls) of the time while they always accepted the subject reading.

Table 3. Results for Ellipsis Construction (acceptance %).

		L2ers (n=7)	Native controls (n=8)
Ellipsis with pronom. cl.	Subj. reading	**89.3**	**78.1**
	Obj. reading	**75**	**81.3**
Ellipsis with *se*	Subj. reading	**100**	**100**
	Obj. reading	**17.9**	**21.9**

To take stock, in Belikova (2008b), I concluded that L2ers did not treat *se* as an object pronoun most of the time; the subjects in the study generally failed to follow the straightforward but linguistically misleading classroom instruction, thus supporting the idea that adult L2 acquisition is sensitive to subtle linguistic cues and is UG-constrained.

To address a few potential objections to this conclusion, consider first an idea that it is not UG that prevents the pronoun misanalysis of *se*, but rather the L1 where reflexives and reciprocals are verb-formed and the reflexive/reciprocal detransitivity morphology, i.e. the Russian suffix *-sja*, could in principle be

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[18] It is not obvious why the acceptance rates in the case of pronominal clitics were not at ceiling. Possible explanations might have to with the ambiguity issue or methodological problems.

perceived as analogous to the reflexive/reciprocal clitic *se* in French. What will in fact rule out this transfer-based interpretation of the results is testing L2ers on the whole cluster of properties associated with French reflexives and reciprocals, including ECM constructions and the realization of direct objects (section 3.1), and showing that L2ers' overall performance cannot be explained in terms of L1 transfer. Moreover, testing an additional group of L2ers who are native speakers of a 'lexicon' language where reflexive and reciprocal morphology is quite different from the one employed in French, would weaken any transfer-based interpretation even more directly if the results from this group turn out to be similar to the results from Russian-speaking learners. English-speaking L2 learners of French are in fact an appropriate target group for that purpose; English patterns with 'lexicon' languages and it employs null morphology for derivation of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.

Is the fact that a group of L2 learners did adopt the pronominal misanalysis problematic to this conclusion that adult L2 acquisition is UG-constrained? This finding could be explained as a result of learned linguistic knowledge taking over linguistic competence at the time of testing, i.e. some L2ers might have adopted a more rationalized approach to the experimental tasks rather than relying on their linguistic intuitions. While this explanation is reasonable and has been appealed to in the past (cf. Felix 1985, Schwartz 1993), certain aspects of the design could be revised in an attempt to reduce the learned linguistic knowledge factor. In particular, if L2ers in the study were more proficient in French and if the study deliberately picked only those L2ers who were not taking an FSL course in the same or preceding semester, learned linguistic knowledge would have been less likely to underlie L2ers' linguistic behaviour.[19]

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[19] Recall that learned linguistic knowledge is assumed to normally have a short-term effect on linguistic behavior (Schwartz 1993).

Belikova (2008a) also proposes that if an L2 interlanguage grammar has not yet attained its final state, it may adopt the pronoun misanalysis while still expecting verbal reflexives and reciprocals to show up later in the input. In either case, the pronoun analysis of *se* is not predicted to constitute a stable interlanguage state and should not be systematically attested in more advanced L2ers.

All the limitations of Belikova (2008a) and Belikova (2008b) and considerations covered above are taken into account while developing the methodology of the study that the present thesis focuses on.

4.2 Effects of Explicit Instruction

Turning to the discussion of L2 research that looks at the effects of explicit instruction, Schwartz (1993), amongst others, distinguishes between learned linguistic knowledge and linguistic competence and argues that both can in principle underlie interlanguage behaviour.[20] However, explicit instruction can only affect and feed into learned linguistic knowledge; linguistic competence, on the other hand, is UG-based, and only primary linguistic data can truly affect it, triggering true restructuring of interlanguage grammars.

The idea that explicit instruction is 'essentially ineffectual in building grammars' (Schwartz 1993:159) has been criticized by some researchers. Thus, Carroll (2001) reviews a number of studies looking into the effect of different types of metalinguistic information on L2ers' 'psychogrammars' (Carroll 2001: 340) and concludes that Schwartz's model has no empirical basis.[21] Most of the reviewed studies indeed show that instruction and/or feedback cause certain changes in L2ers' linguistic behaviour, but the issue as to whether such changes are successfully internalized in the long-term is not addressed. Given that adult language learners are certainly equipped with general cognitive abilities (including inferencing and deduction) and language data can be in principle approached with domain-general problem-solving tools, it is unrealistic to expect L2ers to totally fail at making use of any metalinguistic information. In

[20] A similar distinction is made by Felix (1985): the Problem-Solving Cognitive System versus the Language-Specific Cognitive System.

[21] Some of the studies reviewed in Carroll (2001) are Alanen (1995), Carroll et al. (1992), Carroll & Swain (1993), Doughty (1991), Harley (1989), Izumi & Lakshmanan (1998), Spada & Lightbown (1993), Tomasello & Herron (1988, 1989), VanPatten & Cadierno (1993), White (1991).

Schwartz's (1993) terms however, only learned linguistic knowledge gets affected under such circumstances.

As a result, it seems that there exists no true empirical evidence against Schwartz's (1993) model, upon closer consideration. Focusing on evidence in its favour, one general argument is the observation of the 'well-known mystery in L2 acquisition' (Schwartz 1993: 149), namely, that explicit instruction does not work in L2 acquisition as fruitfully as one might expect it to; in the face of apparently ample explicit and negative data, 'to which L2ers have often been repeatedly exposed, sometimes even consistently and sometimes even over years, L2ers' hypotheses seem resistant to revision (e.g. Cohen & Robbins 1976)' (Schwartz 1993: 149). One actual striking piece of experimental evidence in favour of informational encapsulation of the language module (in Fodor's (1983) terms) in L2 acquisition comes from White (1991) where French-speaking English L2ers were instructed on various aspects relating to verb raising. Abstracting away from the details of the study, two relevant facts should be mentioned (Schwartz & Gubala-Ryzak 1992, White 1992). First, explicit instruction (including negative evidence) forced L2ers to recognize the ungrammaticality of the S-V-Adv-O order in English, see (7a), but it also resulted in rejection of the grammatical S-V-Adv-PP order, see (7b), which indicates that L2ers ended up with an unnatural overgeneralization, something which is expected if the instruction affected learned linguistic knowledge, but not linguistic competence.[22] Second, a group of L2ers were retested after one year, which revealed that that they completely backslid to their pre-instructional behaviour, something which is – again – expected if the instruction affected learned linguistic knowledge, but not linguistic competence.

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[22] On the other hand, White et al. (1996) explore a question of whether explicit instruction on a particular property of the Japanese reflexive *zibun*, namely, that it can be bound long-distance, will lead to acquisition of its subject-orientation (see section 4.1.1 for some discussion of how the two properties are related). Post-instructional testing revealed that 4 out of 12 L2ers did in fact learn both long-distance binding and subject orientation (although the latter was not explicitly taught).

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(7)   a. *Mary watches often television.

     b. Mary walks quickly to school.

A number of studies have also looked into linguistically misleading but logically reasonable explicit instruction and its effects. In addition to Belikova (2008b) which the present thesis follows up on, as discussed in section 4.1.4, Bruhn-Garavito's (1995) study examines L2 learners of Spanish (with a variety of L1s) who arrive at a native-like distinction between two types of subjunctive clauses although the classroom instruction treats them similarly. While L2ers are explicitly taught that co-reference between the matrix and the embedded subjunctive subjects is always illicit, based on examples such as (8c), they are in fact able to override this wrong overgeneralization and end up with grammars which correctly allow co-reference more readily in linguistically appropriate subjunctive contexts (with embedded modal verbs, see (8a), and adjunct clauses. see (8b)) than in inappropriate ones (all other cases, see (8c)). (Examples are from Bruhn-Garavito (1995); see Bruhn-Garavito (1995) for details of the theoretical analysis.)

(8)   a. Embedded Modal Verbs:

     Espero   que   pueda   hablar   con   él   hoy.

     hope.PRES.1PS   *that able.SUBJ.1PS/3PS*   *speak.INF*   *with him today*

     '**I** hope that **I**/he/she will be able to speak with him today.'

     (co-reference is possible)

    b. Adjunct Clauses:

     Voy   a   llamarte   cuando llegue.

     go.PRES.1PS   *call.INF*   *when*   *arrive.SUBJ.1PS/3PS*

     '**I** will call you when **I**/he/she arrive/arrives.' (co-reference is possible)

    c. Elsewhere:

     Quiero   que   vaya   a   la   fiesta.

     want.PRES.1PS   *that go.SUBJ.1PS/3PS*   *to*   *the*   *party*

     '**I** want *__me__*/him/her/ to go to the party.' (co-reference is impossible)

More recently, Belikova (2009) reinterprets Lakshmanan and Lindsey's (1998) study which reports that adult advanced Russian L2ers (L1 English), who are exclusively classroom learners, have extreme difficulty acquiring the so-called Genitive of Negation. Upon closer examination, what these L2ers fail at is internalizing a simple classroom rule that turns out to be linguistically misleading: both genitive and accusative objects can be used after a negated transitive verb. Belikova (2009) argues that this rule is formulated in linear terms and encourages an unnatural overgeneralization: from cases of sentential negation (where the genitive/accusative alternation is indeed possible in Russian, see (9a)) to cases of constituent negation (where only accusative is in fact allowed; see (9b)). Non-acquisition of Genitive of Negation is then reinterpreted as indicative of implicit domain-specific knowledge that somehow prevents learners from adopting this linguistically misleading rule.

(9) a. Ja   ne   pokupala knig/   knigi.

   I   NEG   bought   books.GEN/   books.ACC

   'I did not buy books (i.e. it is not true that I bought books).'

   b. Ja   ne   pokupala *knig/   knigi   (a   prodavala).

   I   NEG   bought   books.GEN   books.ACC but   sold

   'I did not buy books (I sold them).'

Finally, in the domain of L2 prosody, Özçelik's (2011) study reveals that English-speaking L2 learners of Turkish arrive at native-like knowledge of Turkish sentential stress despite a linguistically misleading but logically straightforward rule advanced in the classroom, i.e. stress the element immediately preceding the predicate. While this rule captures most cases of sentential stress in Turkish, it fails in cases such as (10), where either the subject (10a) or the predicate (10b) bears the sentential stress, depending on the meaning; see Özçelik (2011) for details of the theoretical analysis.

(10)a. **<u>Adam</u>** gel-di.

       man   *arrived-PAST*

       'A man arrived.'

  b.   Adam   **<u>gel-di</u>**.

       man   *arrived-PAST*

       'The man arrived.'

To take stock, although explicit classroom input may trigger (often temporary) changes in learners' performance it appears to be ineffective in bringing about true changes in L2ers' linguistic competence. Moreover, when instruction involves linguistically misleading rules, the preliminary conclusion from a number of studies is that L2 speakers are able to ignore them and still arrive at native-like representations.

4.3 Summary

To conclude, chapter 4 reviews some of the acquisition studies that deal with reflexive and reciprocal verbs, as well as studies examining effects of explicit instruction. Most L1 and L2 research on reflexivity and reciprocity has focused on anaphoric pronouns, but since the reflexive markers of detransitivity are often analyzed as anaphors, these studies occasionally provide insights into the acquisition of verbal reflexives (section 4.1.1). In sections 4.1.2 through 4.1.4, I focus on L2 studies that look into verbal reflexives and reciprocals more directly. Thus, gaining inspiration from Montrul (1997, 2000), Miličević (2007) examines the issue of transitivity alternations that involve reflexive and reciprocal verbs in the L2 Italian of native speakers of English and Serbian (section 4.1.2). Although this study is certainly interesting in its own right, its most relevant finding (as will become clear in chapter 7) is that, due to L1 transfer, English-speaking learners initially assume that their L2 reflexive and reciprocal verbs employ null morphology (which is also supported by Montrul's (1997, 2000) research on alternating unaccusatives in L2 Spanish). While Belikova (2008a) explores the issue of parameter resetting with regards to verbal reciprocalization in 'lexicon'

(L1 Russian) vs. 'syntax' (L2 French) languages (section 4.1.3), Belikova (2008b) reanalyzes some of Belikova's (2008a) data (as well as discusses one additional pilot task) to answer the question of whether interlanguage grammars can override the linguistically misleading classroom instruction with respect to the French clitic *se* (section 4.1.4). Although the preliminary conclusion is that the pronominal misanalysis of *se* is not generally adopted by L2 learners, which is in line with some previous L2 studies suggesting relative ineffectiveness of explicit instruction (section 4.2), this promising line of research clearly calls for further investigation. The present thesis crucially draws on Belikova (2008b) in that they share basic assumptions and ask the same questions, but the present thesis also revises the methodology by involving learners of higher proficiency, including two L1 groups of French learners (L1 Russian and L1 English), testing for additional properties associated with French verbal reflexives and reciprocals, etc. (see chapter 6 that discusses the methodology of the present study in detail).

5. The Present Study: Methodology

5.1. The (Un)likeliness of a Misanalysis of *se* as a Pronoun in L2 French: Predictions

The present chapter discusses an original experiment designed to examine whether Russian- and English-speaking L2 learners of French adopt the linguistically inaccurate classroom analysis of *se* as a pronoun or converge on a native-like representation of *se*. Before turning to methodology, I will summarize the rationale of the study and readdress the predictions of two contrasting models of adult L2 acquisition with regards to the (un)likeliness of a misanalysis of *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun in L2 French.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the linguistically accurate analysis of *se* as a detransitivity marker is severely underdetermined by the input. Constructions where *se* behaves differently from true pronominal clitics (resulting in ungrammaticality or marginal grammaticality when *se* is involved), i.e. passives, adjectives with dative objects and ellipsis constructions – to name just a few – cannot be used directly to deduce the linguistic status of *se*, since naturalistic input data does not provide direct evidence as to what constructions and meanings are impossible (or marginally possible) in the language.[1] On the other hand, the linguistically inaccurate generalization where *se* is viewed as a pronominal clitic

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[1] *Se* is ungrammatical in passives and is marginally grammatical in adjectival constructions, while pronominal clitics are fully grammatical in both structures. Unlike true clitic pronouns, *se* does not readily give rise to subject/object reading ambiguity in comparative ellipsis constructions (see chapters 2 and 3).

It is true that learners might be able to take advantage of so-called indirect negative evidence. In other words, since certain constructions do not occur (and certain meanings are not invoked) in the L2 input, learners may conceivably infer that such constructions (and meanings) are ungrammatical (cf. Plough 1995). However, such indirect evidence against the pronominal analysis of *se* would be extremely subtle (also see chapter 7 where I argue against effectiveness of indirect negative evidence). Under the domain-general view, given the striking resemblance of *se* to clitic object pronouns as well as their productivity, these clearly noticeable properties should still promote the pronominal misanalysis of *se* in L2ers.

is encouraged by the superficial similarity between *se* and true object clitics easily noticeable in the L2 input, by L1/L2 matching patterns and by French as a second language (FSL) classroom instruction and textbooks. To elaborate, as discussed, *se* productively attaches to verbs (see chapters 2 and 3), which encourages the superficial analogy with true clitic pronouns. The distribution of *se* and pronominal clitics is superficially similar and *se* resembles object clitic pronouns morphologically, see (1) where *me* is a pronominal clitic in (1a) but it is an allomorph of the detransitivity marker *se* in (1b).

(1)   a. Lucie   **me**   rase.

         Lucie   *me*   *shave*

         'Lucie shaves me.'

    b. Je   **me**   rase.

         I   SE   *shave*

         I shave (myself).

In addition, in 'lexicon' languages (Russian and English), *se* reflexives and reciprocals pattern better with anaphoric constructions than with 'lexical' reflexives and reciprocals, as far as certain properties are concerned, as discussed in chapter 3. Table 2 in chapter 3, repeated here (with minor changes) as table 1, summarizes these patterns in how the verbal and anaphoric strategies compare across languages. These patterns are important, since if domain-general principles are responsible for adult L2 acquisition, and if transfer is assumed, L2ers are predicted to heavily rely on such L1/L2 pattern matching which should lead them to an analysis of *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal anaphor.

Table 1. Crosslinguistic Patterns in the Verbal vs. Anaphoric Strategies.

	Russian and English anaphoric constructions	Russian and English reflexive and reciprocal verbs	French *se* reflexive and reciprocal verbs
Productivity	yes	no	yes
ECM	yes	no	yes
Direct objects	yes	no	yes

Finally, as discussed, the FSL classroom instruction and textbooks describe French reflexive and reciprocal verbs as syntactic constructions involving co-reference of a subject and a reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun. The superficial resemblance of *se* to clitic object pronouns is highlighted in every context and repeatedly pointed to (see appendix D for further details).

In other words, various factors conspire to conceal the true linguistic status of *se* in French; the pronominal misanalysis of *se* does not face any obvious counterevidence, being superficially encouraged by the input and L1/L2 matching patterns. As a result, since the domain-general model of adult L2 acquisition attaches considerable importance to explicit instruction and general cognitive strategies, including problem-solving and analogy, it predicts that French L2 learners should internalize the linguistically inaccurate analysis of *se* as a pronominal clitic and their performance in experimental tasks should demonstrate that they treat the two types of clitics similarly.

Turning now to the domain-specific view, note that, as argued in chapters 2 and 4, the pronominal analysis of *se* is not merely inaccurate for French, but it is also linguistically implausible. Indeed, if the pronominal analysis of *se* is adopted, all reflexive and reciprocal verbs are analyzed as syntactic constructions involving a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, implying that there are no actual reflexive and reciprocal verbs in the language. To this end, recall that an absolute majority of languages which exhibit valence-decreasing verbal morphology (see below) possess reflexive and reciprocal verbs. French clearly displays valence-decreasing

verbal morphology, e.g. in unaccusatives (*se casser* 'break'), in subject-experiencing verbs (*s'ennuyer* 'get bored'), in middles (*bien se vendre* 'easily/well sell'), and is therefore expected to have verbal reflexives and reciprocals. Under the domain specific view of L2 acquisition, interlanguage grammars necessarily fall within the range of possible grammars, which predicts that French learners should not adopt the pronominal misanalysis at the level of linguistic competence. At the same time, since both linguistic competence and learned linguistic knowledge can in principle underlie interlanguage behaviour (e.g. Schwartz 1993), L2ers may exhibit performance consistent with the misanalysis some of the time; however, the pronoun analysis of *se* should fail to integrate in the natural growth of the grammar, meaning that L2ers will fail to internalize it in the long-term. In other words, the pronoun analysis of *se* is not predicted to be part of the ultimate L2 attainment or any other stable interlanguage state, under the domain-specific view. As a result, L2ers should demonstrate that they treat *se* and true pronominal clitics differently in relevant contexts, most of the time.

Note that very little in the acquisition part of this thesis crucially hinges on the exact technicalities of the analysis worked out in detail in chapter 3. This is in fact an important advantage since – as mentioned earlier – 'the extent to which any type of L2 research is tied to the particular technicalities of specific linguistic analyses is the extent to which it risks being undercut by a better theory around the corner' (Schwartz and Sprouse 2000: 158).

5.2 Participants

A total of 19 adult native speakers of French (17 Quebec French speakers and 2 French speakers from France) and 39 adult French L2ers, 20 native Russian speakers and 19 native English speakers, were involved in the study.[2] However, data from one Russian speaker and three English speakers were excluded from the

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[2] The data from the two continental French speakers did not differ from the data collected from native speakers of Quebec French.

analysis due to a clear response bias towards acceptance. Data from certain participants were excluded for one of the experimental tasks; the reasons are discussed where relevant. Most participants were recruited and tested in Montreal, Quebec; six Russian-speaking L2ers were tested in Quebec City, Quebec.

Most of the native French speakers were also L2 speakers of other languages but none of them had any extensive naturalistic exposure to a non-native language as a child.[3] Only four French controls estimated their proficiency in an L2 (English) as near-native but their naturalistic exposure to it started only in adolescence, and they continued to use their native language on a daily basis.

French L2ers involved in the study were not naturalistically exposed (to any considerable degree) to any language except their mother tongue prior to age of 17, except for one Russian speaker who was naturalistically exposed to English since the age of 15.[4] L2ers' proficiency in French normally exceeded their proficiency in other L2s.[5] Moreover, French L2ers involved in the study were at most beginners in languages reportedly behaving on par with French, as far as reflexive and reciprocal verbs are concerned (e.g. Spanish, Italian, German, i.e. 'syntax' languages; see chapter 3).

The French controls' average age was 25.1; L2ers' background details are summarized in table 2 below. The Russian- and English-speaking L2ers' average

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[3] Four native French speakers reported occasional exposure to a non-native language (Arabic, Italian, Mauritian Creole, and Vietnamese) in early childhood.

[4] English-speaking participants did not grow up in Montreal. A few participants reported early exposure to other languages (e.g. Ukrainian in the case of Russian speakers, Tagalog and Vietnamese in the case of English speakers) which they characterized as occasional, sporadic and non-pervasive, i.e. this exposure can be largely dismissed.

[5] For one Russian speaker, the proficiency in French was comparable to her proficiency in English (based on self-report, as only proficiency in French was independently assessed for the purpose of the study). One other Russian speaker was naturalistically exposed to English since the age of 15, and was more proficient in English than in French at the time of testing. Since these speakers' performance did not differ in any significant respect from performance of L2ers with otherwise similar profiles, their data were included in the analysis.

age at the time of testing was 36.2 and 24.1, respectively. The average age of onset of naturalistic exposure to French and French classroom learning also differed somewhat. The Russian-speaking L2ers started with naturalistic exposure to French later (29.3) than the English speakers (19.8). The Russian speakers also started to learn French later (24.8) than the English speakers (13.8). Furthermore, at the time of testing, the Russian speakers had had an average of 6.4 years of naturalistic exposure to French and 3.9 years of French classroom instruction, while the English speakers had had an average of 3.8 years of naturalistic exposure and 6 years of French classroom instruction.

Table 2. L2ers' Background Details.

		L1 Russian	**L1 English**
Number of participants		19	16
Age at the time of testing (years)	Average	36.2	24.1
	Range	24-50	19-30
Age of onset of naturalistic exposure (years)	Average	29.3	19.8
	Range	18-43	17-26
Length of naturalistic exposure to French (years)	Average	6.4	3.8
	Range	1-13	1-9.5
Age of onset of French learning (years)	Average	24.8	13.8
	Range	6-43	6-26
Length of classroom instruction (years)	Average	3.9	6
	Range	1-11	1-12
Weekly communication in French (hours)	Average	25.6	17.4
	Range	4-47.5	1-45

These somewhat different profiles require clarification. First, while French second language (FSL) education is provided in practically all elementary and secondary schools throughout Canada and in many schools in the US, the majority of schools in the (former) USSR provide only English second language education. Eight English-speaking participants were born and schooled in Canada (only two

of them in Quebec), seven in the US and one in the UK. It is then not surprising that ten English speakers and only two Russian speakers started learning French before the age of 17 in a classroom setting. In fact, for most Russian-speaking L2ers residing in Quebec, FSL starts just a few years before they move to Quebec (during the time their immigration applications are being processed), or right upon their arrival to Quebec. These extra-linguistic factors also shed light on the difference in length of classroom instruction. While the English speakers reported more years of learning French as they tended to include years of FSL at elementary/secondary school, this should not directly translate into more hours of French for English speakers than for Russian speakers, as the intensity of learning in these elementary/secondary school classes was generally lower than in intensive FSL continuing education courses (which is what Russian speakers mainly reported).

Moreover, most English speakers in the present study were university students; in most cases, they took additional FSL courses as soon as they arrived in Quebec and soon found themselves at the proficiency level comparable to that of the Russian-speaking L2ers who started learning French later but more intensively, and generally tended to be older.[6] These additional background details explain the difference in the age of onset of naturalistic exposure, which tends to be younger for the English speakers.

Turning back to the study, L2ers who responded to a recruitment advertisement targeting advanced learners/speakers of French were retained in the study if they met a series of important criteria, based on a number of pre-screening questions as to their daily usage of French, proficiency in other languages, the age of first naturalistic exposure, etc.

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[6] Applicants with postsecondary education have a better chance of meeting immigration requirements and the immigration process takes a few years on top of that. As a result, there are relatively few Russian-speaking L2ers that start with naturalistic exposure as very young adults. Those young adults that do come to Quebec tend to be children of newly admitted immigrants, a scenario that is not very common due to two factors. First, older adults (in particular those aged 42 and older) have a decreased chance of meeting immigration requirements; second, young adults whose parents are newly admitted immigrants do not always qualify as dependent children.

As mentioned above, the target group in the study were adult L2 speakers who were involved in the FSL classroom in the past and who had not had any language instruction for at least one year prior to testing. It is hypothesized that although these L2ers might still remember the classroom generalization treating *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, their performance in the experimental tasks will fail to conform to this generalization, thus implying that the linguistically false generalization is not part of L2ers' actual implicit linguistic competence. The requirement for L2ers to have no language instruction for at least one year prior to testing draws on the idea that both the Problem-Solving Cognitive System and the Language-Specific Cognitive System (Felix 1985) can, in principle, underlie interlanguage behaviour (e.g. Schwartz 1993), but the former should be less effective, *ceteris paribus,* in L2ers who have had an opportunity to recover from the metalinguistic instruction through months of exclusively naturalistic exposure to the target L2. Whether or not the classroom *se* misanalysis ever affects L2ers' linguistic performance while they are still involved in the FSL classroom is an interesting question, but it is largely orthogonal to the domain-general vs. domain-specific debate (as formulated in chapter 1 and section 5.1). Having said that, it was nevertheless decided to also test a few advanced L2ers engaged in the FSL classroom at the time of testing as such L2ers also responded to the general recruitment ad. Out of 35 French L2ers whose data was considered for the analysis, two Russian speakers and five English speakers were involved in the FSL classroom at the time of testing. While no meaningful conclusions can be drawn based on data from the two Russian speakers, data from the five English speakers can be viewed as a pilot. I will discuss potential follow-up studies where appropriate.

5.3 Overall Procedure

The study involved two main experimental tasks, a contextualized acceptability judgement test and a truth value judgement test. As discussed in section 5.2, at the time of testing, most L2ers in the study had not had any classroom instruction for at least one year. The testing procedure for this group of L2ers and native controls

was somewhat different from the testing procedure adopted for the seven L2 learners who were enrolled in the French classroom at the time of testing. The overall testing procedure is discussed in detail below.

Testing of the L2 learners enrolled in the FSL classroom at the time of the experiment began with a short intervention session (about 10-12 minutes long) consisting of two parts. First, they listened to a recording (by a native French speaker; in French, about 7 minutes long) which went over a few very standard FSL statements regarding the reflexive/reciprocal *se* illustrated with representative examples. Reflexive and reciprocal *se*-verbs were referred to as 'pronominal' verbs, i.e. as involving a reflexive/reciprocal 'pronoun' *se*. It was made explicit that the pronominal *se* behaved on par with 'other' personal clitic pronouns. Certain aspects of participial agreement with 'pronominal' verbs were drawn to their attention, based on the alleged status of *se* as a direct object vs. an indirect object of the verb. The specific passages were taken from a representative grammar textbook (Ollivier 1979); the participants were provided with the relevant extracts from the textbook and were instructed to follow the text as they listen to the recording. The second part of the intervention session consisted of a few short exercises (from the same textbook) drawing on the classroom generalization; the L2ers were required to complete them, to make sure they paid attention to what they had been listening to.

The reason for conducting the described intervention session for L2ers enrolled in the FSL classroom at the time of testing was to ensure that the classroom generalization regarding *se* to which they were all likely to have been repeatedly exposed was vivid in their minds to the same degree; the intervention session arguably eliminated (or at least diminished the effect of) those individual differences related to exactly when the generalization was brought up in the classroom, to what extent it was discussed and whether or not participants were equally attentive to it.[7]

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[7] For a follow-up study specifically looking into L2ers who attend the FSL classroom at the time of testing, it would be in fact ideal to test participants from the same classroom soon after the generalization regarding *se* has been taught.

After the intervention session, the participants proceeded to the main experimental tasks: the acceptability judgement test (section 5.5.2), followed – after a short break – by the truth value judgement test (section 5.5.3). When the experiment did not involve intervention (i.e. in the case of controls and L2ers not currently involved in FSL instruction), participants' testing began with these experimental tasks and (in the case of L2ers) ended with an additional questionnaire with regards to subjects' explicit metalinguistic beliefs about *se* (see appendix C). The *se* questionnaire had two parts; in the first part the L2ers were asked whether they had ever heard the term 'pronominal verb', and if they answered positively, they needed to say whether they remembered where they heard it (classroom/textbook/other) and why certain verbs were referred to as 'pronominal'. In the second part, the L2ers were presented with a pair of sentences with *se*-verbs differing minimally, to exhibit a difference in the participial agreement which FSL instruction routinely focuses on; compare (2a) where *se* is said to function as a direct object triggering the participial agreement to (2b) where *se* is said to function as an indirect object of the verb (see appendix D for more details). The L2ers were asked to come up with a rule that would explain the difference and indicate whether this was something that was explained to them in an FSL classroom or that they read in a textbook.

(2)a. Madonna et Britney Spears se sont **vu-es** pendant un gala.
    Madonna & Britney Spears SE aux see(participle)-fem.pl during a gala

  b. Madonna et Britney Spears se sont **parlé** pendant un gala.
    Madonna & Britney Spears SE aux talk(participle) during a gala

The rationale of having this questionnaire is that if L2ers failed at treating *se* as an object clitic pronoun in the experimental tasks, but still remembered the classroom generalization and explicitly referred to *se* as a pronoun and/or as a direct/indirect object of the verb, that would reliably demonstrate L2ers' failure at internalizing a linguistically false generalization which they themselves could still

formulate metalinguistically and which apparently made sense to them as far as domain-general reasoning was concerned.

Finally, all participants also completed a background questionnaire and took the proficiency test (see section 5.4).[8]

On average, the whole experiment took 60-90 minutes for each native speaker and 120-150 minutes for the L2ers.

5.4 Cloze Test

As an independent measure of proficiency, a cloze test was used. Cloze tests are widely recognized in L2 research as both valid and reliable (Bachman (1985), Tremblay (2011), Tremblay & Garrison (2010), amongst many others); they correlate with other standardized L2 proficiency measures and generally exhibit internal consistency. Cloze tests are also practical as they normally do not take a long time, thus leaving enough time for the actual experimental task.

The specific proficiency test used in the present study was developed by Tremblay (2011) and Tremblay & Garrison (2010) for French, drawing on Brown's (1980) cloze test for English L2 learners. It is based on a (non-technical) newspaper article about global warming (*Le Monde* 2007); words are deleted using the rational (i.e. selective) deletion method resulting in a total of 45 blanks (approximately 1/7 of the total of words in the text): 23 content words and 22 function words. The answer format is open-ended, with scoring carried out based on a bank of acceptable answers.[9]

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[8] The background questionnaire came in two versions: L2ers completed a longer version of the questionnaire which also looked into important aspects of acquisition of French as a foreign language.

[9] The exact scoring method is as follows: both exact and acceptable answers are scored as correct, spelling mistakes (including agreement mistakes) that do not have implications for the pronunciation of words are ignored.

As far as interpretation of scores is concerned, Tremblay & Garrison (2010) tentatively identified four proficiency levels.[10] In Tremblay & Coughlin (2009), the results of the same cloze test were used to split L2 participants into *mid-level* and *high-level* groups with the score ranges of 13-26 and 27-37, respectively. As discussed in section 6.1 in more detail, I used the score of 27 as a cut-off point, too, and split L2ers into intermediate (26 and lower) and advanced (27 and higher).

5.5 Experimental Tasks: Acceptability Judgement and Truth Value Judgement Tests

5.5.1 Some Background on the Tasks and Further Procedural Details

To investigate whether L2ers generally internalize the *se* misanalysis advanced in the classroom and textbooks, two tasks were administered: an acceptability judgment task (AJT), see appendix A, and a truth value judgment task (TVJT), see appendix B. In this section, I will briefly cover certain procedural details relevant to both tasks. I will also discuss general issues related to the design and administration of the two types of tasks.

The order of the two experimental tasks was always the same: the AJT was completed before the TVJT. As discussed in more detail below, the AJT included items which were either grammatical (acceptable) or ungrammatical (unacceptable) sentences in the target language; the participants indicated whether or not they thought such sentences were possible.[11] By contrast, the TVJT

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[10] Level 1 (high beginners) range is 7-24% accuracy on the cloze test (the score range of 3-11), level 2 (low-intermediate) range is 27-42% accuracy (the score range of 12-19), level 3 (high-intermediate) range is 44-64% accuracy (the score range of 20-29), and level 4 (advanced/near-native) range is 69-93% accuracy (the score range of 31-42).

[11] I will sometimes use the terms 'acceptability' and 'grammaticality' interchangeably while describing the tasks. Although this is not technically correct according to some authors (e.g. Mackey & Gass (2005), amongst others), I believe that as long as we generally agree that judgment data are performance data (as with any other methodology used to tap linguistic competence with) and that we can only infer regarding grammaticality from acceptability

included only grammatical sentences; the participants were instructed to indicate which sentences were necessarily true in the provided context. Crucially, the TVJT sentences in the current study often contained the same *se*-verbs that participants saw in the AJT; if the subjects were allowed to begin the experiment with the TVJT, their acceptance of certain stimuli in the subsequent task, the AJT, could have been biased.

For both experimental tasks, the participants were provided with instructions as to what they were expected to do. These instructions were first presented to them verbally in their native language and afterwards in written form in French (see appendices A and B). The instructions stressed that participants had to read contexts carefully and then rely on their first intuition (rather than on explicit rules they might have been aware of) about each given sentence. The participants were encouraged to ask clarification questions at this point (in either language). To ensure that the subjects understood the task, they were presented with four examples (for the contextualized acceptability judgement task) and two training items (for the truth value judgment task), and their intuitions regarding these examples and items were briefly discussed.

In each task, items were arranged in a semi-randomized order and presented to the participants in one of two orders, A or B. Items in each task consisted of a context and a sentence to be judged in this context. Items were presented on a computer screen (the context was always presented first), one item at a time; judgements for individual items were first supplied orally and then marked on a piece of paper. If the L2er was hesitant or uncertain, the experimenter gently approved of each oral judgement to encourage the participant to further rely on his/her intuitions rather than ponder over the judgement for a long time. This

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judgments, insisting on the terminological distinction between grammaticality (as a concept relevant to competence which we cannot ask directly about) and acceptability (as a concept relevant to performance) is not particularly useful (cf. also Chomsky (1965) and Tremblay (2005)).

procedure was especially helpful as neither task was timed.[12] Once participants marked down their judgement for a specific item, they were not allowed to change it. Moreover, participants were not able to go back and check what judgments they supplied for any particular sentences earlier in the test. When participants were ready to proceed to the next item, they pushed the laptop's enter key.

AJTs have been used extensively for data collection in language research (e.g. see White (2003) for an overview). As mentioned, in this type of task participants are presented with a list of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences which they are asked to evaluate as either acceptable or unacceptable in the target language; the method has its advantages and disadvantages as discussed elsewhere (e.g. Schütze 1996, Tremblay 2005). One important advantage of the AJT over many other types of data collection, including spontaneous and elicited production, is that the AJT allows researchers to make inferences about what the speaker's grammar excludes. On the other hand, one frequently raised concern is that the AJT might be too introspective and conscious in nature; this made some researchers doubt that the AJT is indeed helpful as far as underlying grammatical competence is concerned. Comparing the AJT to the TVJT, the main advantage of the latter is that participants are not forced to be explicit as to their intuitions about the linguistic aspects of experimental items *per se* (grammaticality, ambiguity, etc.). Instead, in the truth value judgment task, participants are asked to assess grammatical sentences in terms of their truth value (i.e. decide whether a sentence is true or false) in the provided context, which is presumably indicative of whether participants can generate particular meanings (hence particular structural configurations) and reveals something important about the underlying grammar in a roundabout (presumably implicit) way.

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[12] In some studies, the timing between items is controlled and reaction time is measured (see Schütze (1996), Tremblay (2005), White (2003), amongst many others, for an overview). These procedures are appropriate if the length of sentences and contexts in which they are presented is comparable across different stimuli. However, certain constructions tested in the AJT in the present study inevitably resulted in somewhat longer sentences (e.g. see the passive stimuli, section 5.5.2); some stimuli required more elaborated contexts than other stimuli. As a result, having the same timing for all types of tested constructions would not have been justified.

Originally, the TVJT was designed to investigate availability of particular meanings of (potentially) ambiguous sentences in first language acquisition (Crain & McKee 1985, Crain & Thornton 1998, amongst others). Typically, scenarios where one of the (potential) meanings is made true while the other is made false are acted out by an experimenter with toys. The (potentially) ambiguous sentence is then produced by a silly puppet, and the child is asked to provide feedback on the puppet's comment by either rewarding it if the comment is true or punishing it if the comment is false. The key idea (and indeed the rationale of the task) is that the child will necessarily accept a (potentially) ambiguous sentence as true if she can generate the reading that is made true by the story, the so-called Principle of Charity (following Davidson (1984), Wilson (1959), amongst others).

For use with adult L2ers, versions of the truth value judgment task were subsequently developed (Bruhn-Garavito 1995, Eubank et al. 1997, Ionin & Montrul (2012), Montrul & Slabakova 2001, Thomas 1995, White 1995, White et al. 1996, White et al. 1997). The procedure is significantly simplified in L2 studies as adult participants do not generally have to enjoy the experiment to remain focused and they can read. Contexts are typically presented as written stories (two to five sentences long; e.g. Eubank et al. 1997) or via pictures (e.g. Hirakawa 1999, White et al. 1997) and participants are asked to decide whether the grammatical sentence paired with the context is true (e.g. Montrul & Slabakova 2001), reasonable (e.g. Bruhn-Garavito 1995), matches what is going on in the picture (e.g. White et al. 1997), etc. While L2 studies normally borrow the assumption from the L1 research that participants should abide by the principle of Charity,[13] such reliance on Charity with adults remains largely a mystery.[14] Indeed, adult speakers may choose to employ skepticism and critical

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[13] But see Eubank et al. (1997).

[14] Charity as it is observed in young children differs from Charity as a true cooperative principle regulating adult communication in that the former is considered constitutive (resulting in abidance by Charity associated with credulity and lack of sophistication), while the latter is regulative (associated with the pursuit of cooperation, but ultimately optional). Moreover, since the design of the TVJT is simplified when the participants are adults so that the task no longer involves actual

thinking at least some of the time.[15] In particular, cases where the preference of one interpretation over the other comes into play seem to be problematic leading some researchers to conclude that 'current methodologies do not necessarily provide an accurate picture of L2 learners' linguistic competence' (White et al. 1997: 150).[16] In my study, I employ a version of the TVJT which tries to overcome this apparent problem (see section 5.5.3).

5.5.2 Acceptability Judgement Test

The AJT consisted of 86 semi-randomized test items, presented on a computer screen. To recap, each test sentence was preceded by a short context (in French).[17]

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communication (like the one between the puppet and the child in L1 acquisition studies) there should be even less motivation to comply with Charity.

[15] Recently, there have been L1 studies suggesting that even children do not always abide by Charity and that it is sometimes necessary to focus children on a particular meaning to help them access it (Gualmini 2004, Hulsey et al. 2004, Özçelik 2009, Roberts 1996).

[16] On the other hand, some L2 studies claim to have applied the TVJT successfully with both L2ers and native control speakers (Bruhn-Garavito 1995, Ionin & Montrul 2012, Montrul & Slabakova 2001, amongst others).

[17] The pilot study on reciprocals in Belikova (2008a) and Belikova (2008b) involved a non-contextualized version of the AJT. As mentioned earlier, plural *se*-verbs are normally ambiguous between the reflexive and the reciprocal readings; the stimulus sentences themselves therefore had to imply reciprocity very strongly in Belikova (2008a) and Belikova (2008b), and the participants were also asked to provide a translation or a short explanation as to how they understood sentences that they judged as possible. The purpose of the translation/interpretation task was to ascertain that the subjects were assigning appropriate interpretations to the accepted sentences. In the present version of the task, contexts describing either reflexive or reciprocal scenarios allowed for greater freedom with regards to exactly what was included in the sentences to be judged (as reflexivity/reciprocity was now also inferred from the context); contexts also ensured more readily that the sentence was judged based on the appropriate interpretation, so the translation/interpretation task was no longer necessary. Independently of the ambiguity of *se*-verbs, presenting AJT sentences in contexts is generally recommended (e.g. Mackey & Gass 2005,

The subjects were instructed to first read the context carefully and then decide whether or not they felt that the sentence that appeared beneath it was a possible sentence in French, given the provided context. If the participants judged a sentence to be impossible, they were asked to make a correction. The purpose of corrections was to ensure that the subjects responded relevantly, i.e. did not reject items for independent reasons (such as seemingly wrong word choice, incorrect agreement, etc.).[18] In addition to *possible* and *impossible*, the participants had the option of choosing *aucune intuition* 'no intuition' in case they felt uncertain. Caution was taken to avoid any use of *se*-verbs in the contexts.

The AJT comprised five major sets of conditions (with sub-conditions, as explained below) and a set of filler items whose main purpose was to balance grammatical and ungrammatical items of difference types, and to distract the participants from the specific structures the study focused on, thus making the task less transparent. The five major sets of experimental conditions are presented in table 3.

Schütze 1996). Contexts are taken to ensure that the results are not confounded with the diversity of interpretations participants might assign to (even generally unambiguous) sentences by putting them in their own imaginary contexts, or with difficulty understanding what a particular sentence intends to say (if the sentence in question is in fact ungrammatical and/or refers to a somewhat sophisticated scenario); cf. Tremblay (2005) who questions such recommendation and argues that contexts can be a source of bias.

[18] When the participants (most often L2ers) experienced difficulty coming up with a correction, the experimenter asked them to simply indicate what seemed wrong in the sentence. It is in fact important that the participants were aware of this option as it ascertained that they did not judge a sentence as ultimately possible just because they were not able come up with a correction.

Table 3. Summary of the Main Conditions (Acceptability Judgment Task).

	Subconditions	Number of items	Grammatical?
1. Passives	reflexivized	4	No
	reciprocalized	4	No
	with object clitics	4	Yes
2. Adjectives with dative arguments	reflexivized	4	No
	reciprocalized	4	No
	with object clitics	4	Yes
3. Productive verbs	reflexive	4	Yes
	reciprocal	4	Yes
4. ECM	reflexivized	4	Yes
	reciprocalized	4	Yes
	with object clitics	4	Yes
5. Cross-linguistic verbs	reflexive	4	Yes
	reciprocal	4	Yes

The first two sets of conditions, passives and adjectives with dative arguments, were crucial for determining whether or not L2ers adopted the pronoun analysis of *se*. As discussed earlier (chapters 2 and 3), passives and dative adjectives are among syntactic constructions where *se* and object clitic pronouns do not behave on a par; while object clitic pronouns are generally grammatical in these environments, *se* is not.

The set of conditions involving passive constructions included *se*-passives in reflexive and reciprocal contexts, and passives with (dative) object clitic pronouns. The third condition was a control one: in order to conclude that L2ers converge on a native-like representation of *se*, we need to show that the relevant contrast between *se* and true object clitic pronouns is observed; in other words, L2ers should be able to recognize that clitic pronouns are possible with passives, in the first place. The following four verbs were used in all the three passive conditions: *présenter* 'present', *montrer* 'show', *recommander* 'recommend' and

décrire 'describe'. The reflexive, the reciprocal and the object clitic conditions are exemplified in (3), (4) and (5), respectively.

(3) **Context:**

Michel est un nouveau professeur de mathématiques et il est curieux de voir ce que ses étudiants pensent de lui. Un jour il visite le forum en ligne de son école comme étudiant potentiel et demande aux autres étudiants de décrire le nouveau prof de maths. Les descriptions qu'il reçoit sont très positives.
('Michel is a new math teacher and he is curious about what his students think of him. One day he visits his school's online forum as a prospective student, and asks the other students to describe the new math teacher. The descriptions he gets are very positive.')

Sentence:

*Le nouveau prof de maths   s'   est décrit   par les étudiants   en ligne.
 the new   prof of math   SE   is   described by the students   on line
Intended: 'The new math teacher is described to himself by the students online.'

(4) **Context:**

Arielle n'a jamais rencontré Edgar, et Edgar n'a jamais rencontré Arielle, mais leurs parents essaient de générer un intérêt mutuel. La mère d'Arielle a déjà décrit Edgar comme étant un jeune homme très fiable ; le père d'Edgar a décrit Arielle comme étant une vraie beauté.
('Arielle has never met Edgar and Edgar has never met Arielle, but their parents are trying to generate a mutual interest. Arielle's mother has already described Edgar as a very reliable young man; Edgar's father has described Arielle as a real beauty.')

Sentence:

*Edgar et Arielle se sont décrits par leurs parents.

Edgar & Arielle SE are described by their parents

Intended: 'Edgar and Arielle are described to each other by their parents.'

(5) **Context:**

Il est triste qu'aujourd'hui les personnalités connues ne puissent pas avoir de vie privée. Tous les détails de leur vie nous sont racontés dans diverses revues. Par exemple, pensez à Angelina et Brad – rien à leur sujet ne reste secret. Les journaux à potins nous racontent tout à propos de leur maison, leur magasinage, leurs enfants, etc.

('It is sad that nowadays celebrities cannot have any privacy. All the details of their lives are told to us in various magazines. For example, think of Angelina and Brad – nothing about them remains a secret. Tabloid newspapers tell us everything about their house, their shopping, their kids, etc.')

Sentence:

Angelina et Brad nous sont décrits en détail par les revues.

Angelina & Brad us are described in detail by the magazines

'Angelina and Brad are described to us by magazines.'

Similarly, the second set of items involved adjectives in the three following conditions: *se*-adjectives in reflexive and reciprocal contexts, and adjectives with (dative) object clitic pronouns. The following four adjectives were used in all the three adjectival conditions: *infidèle* 'unfaithful', *reconnaissant* 'grateful', *attentif* 'attentive/mindful' and *sympathique* 'sympathetic/compassionate'. The reflexive, the reciprocal and the object clitic conditions are exemplified in (6), (7) and (8), respectively.

(6)   **Context:**

Madeleine change toujours d'avis à propos de tout. Un jour elle aime le café, le lendemain elle le déteste. Elle porterait des jeans sales pour aller à un concert en disant que sa tenue vestimentaire ne lui tient pas à cœur, mais le lendemain elle porterait des vêtements chics pour aller au cinéma.

(*'Madeleine always changes her mind about everything. One day she loves coffee, the next day she hates it. She might wear dirty jeans to go to a concert, saying that her clothes do not matter to her, but the next day she might wear a fancy outfit to go to the movies.'*)

Sentence:

*?En changeant   toujours   d'avis,   Madeleine   s'   est infidèle.
   changing   always   opinion   Madeleine   SE   is unfaithful
Intended: 'Madeleine is unfaithful to herself as she always changes her mind.'

(7)   **Context:**

Daphné et Éric étaient amoureux auparavant, mais avec le temps qui passe, leur affection diminue. Bien qu'ils soient encore officiellement ensemble, la rumeur court que Daphné a une liaison avec quelqu'un d'autre, et un de mes amis a vu Éric embrasser sa secrétaire.

(*'Daphné and Éric used to be lovers, but as time goes by their affection is fading. In spite of the fact that they are still officially together, there is a rumor that Daphné is having an affair with someone else, and one of my friends saw Éric kissing his secretary.'*)

Sentence:

*?Malheureusement, il semble que Daphné et Éric se   sont   infidèles.
   unfortunately   it seems that Daphné & Éric SE are   unfaithful
Intended: 'Unfortunately, Daphné and Éric seem to be unfaithful to each other.'

(8)   **Context:**

J'ai l'impression que ma blonde Marlène est en train d'avoir une liaison avec son patron. Elle travaille toujours tard et son patron lui téléphone souvent, même les fins de semaine. Bien que Marlène m'assure que c'est juste mon imagination et que je ne devrais pas l'accuser, j'ai toujours de sérieux soupçons.

('I am under the impression that my girlfriend Marlène is having an affair with her boss. She always works late and her boss often phones her, even on weekends. Even though Marlène assures me that it is all in my mind and that I should not be accusing her, I still have serious suspicions.')

Sentence:

Je	soupçonne	que	ma	blonde	Marlène	m'	est	infidèle.
I	*suspect*	*that*	*my*	*girlfriend*	*Marlène*	*me*	*is*	*unfaithful*

'I suspect that my girlfriend Marlène is unfaithful to me.'

The contexts for *se*-passives and *se*-adjectives were somewhat more complex than any other contexts in the test, in particular than those paired with grammatical passives and adjectives in the clitic pronoun conditions. The reason is that situations involving people being described or recommended to themselves and to each other by somebody else are less common and require greater elaboration of the context which would render them natural. The same is largely true for situations where people happen to be unfaithful or grateful to themselves and to each other. This raises a methodological concern; if contexts put together for ungrammatical sentences with *se*-passives and *se*-adjectives were more sophisticated than contexts corresponding to minimally different grammatical sentences with pronominal clitics, a relevant contrast in acceptance rates of ungrammatical versus grammatical sentences could potentially be attributed to difficulty parsing the more sophisticated (and often wordier) stories. The length of contexts was relatively easy to control for by adding superficially unnecessary details in contexts that otherwise would end up being too short (for example, see

(5) and (8) above). Data from certain grammatical filler sentences showed that the relative sophistication of reflexive and reciprocal scenarios did not in fact affect acceptance of grammatical sentences with strong reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in place of *se*; see (9) and (10). A more detailed discussion of filler items is provided later in the section.

(9) **Context:** the same as in (4)
    Sentence:
    Edgar   et Arielle ont été décrits   l'un à l'autre par   leurs parents.
    Edgar   & Arielle   were   described   to each other by   their parents
    'Edgar and Arielle were described to each other by their parents.'

(10) **Context:** the same as in (6)
    Sentence:
    En changeant toujours d'avis, Madeleine   est infidèle   à elle-même.
    changing   always opinion Madeleine   is unfaithful   to herself
    'Madeleine is unfaithful to herself as she always changes her mind.'

While the first two sets of conditions (i.e. conditions involving passives and adjectives) were indeed the crucial ones, looking into further details of the acquisition of French reflexives and reciprocals served to make a better case for the claim that L2ers must rely on language specific mechanisms and beyond instruction and problem-solving. Thus, recall that the productivity of *se* as well as *se* ECMs would only strengthen the pronominal analysis of *se* if L2ers relied on superficial observation and L1/L2 pattern matching (section 5.1). It was then important to show that L2ers acquired these properties (but still observed the relevant contrasts between *se* and true object clitics). Accordingly, the third set of conditions involved eight stimuli with grammatical sentences, each engaging a different *se*-verb: four sentences were preceded with reflexive contexts and the other four sentences were preceded with reciprocal contexts. All the *se*-verbs in this condition were those whose transitive counterparts do not prototypically

undergo reflexivization or reciprocalization in 'lexicon' languages (i.e. productive *se*-verbs). The four reflexive stimuli in the productive condition involved the following verbs: *se détester* 'hate(refl/rec)', *s'aimer* 'love(refl/rec)', *se dessiner* 'draw(refl/rec)' and *se téléphoner* 'call(refl/rec)'. The four reciprocal stimuli in the productive condition involved *s'aider* 'help(refl/rec)', *s'accuser* 'accuse(refl/rec)', *se remercier* 'thank(refl/rec)' and *s'entendre* 'hear(refl/rec)'. The reflexive and the reciprocal conditions are exemplified in (11) and (12), respectively.

(11) **Context:**

Amélie avait un examen mardi dernier. Elle était bien préparée, mais à la dernière minute elle a eu peur et a écrit toutes les formules sur sa main. Le professeur a vu ce qu'elle avait fait, et elle a été expulsée de l'école. Amélie était furieuse envers sa peur et son manque de confiance.

('Amélie had an exam last Tuesday. She was well prepared, but she panicked at the last minute and wrote all the formulas on her hand. The professor saw what she did and she got expelled from school. Amélie was angry at her fears and her lack of confidence.')

Sentence:

Amélie s'   est détestée à cause de   son   manque   de   confiance.
Amélie SE   hated   because of   her   lack   of   confidence
'Amélie hated herself because of her lack of confidence.'

(12) **Context:**

Chantal et Denise sont restées ensemble à l'hôtel à Prague. À la fin de leur séjour, elles ont eu une conversation difficile. Denise a accusé Chantal d'avoir laissé traîner ses affaires partout dans la chambre. Quant à Chantal, elle a accusé Denise d'avoir trop parlé au téléphone.

('Chantal and Denise stayed together at a hotel in Paris. At the end of their stay they had a difficult conversation. Denise accused Chantal of leaving

her things all around the room. As for Chantal, she accused Denise of talking too much over the phone.')

Sentence:

Chantal   et Denise se   sont accusées   pendant leur conversation.
Chantal   & Denise SE   accused   during their conversation
'Chantal and Denise accused each other during their conversation.'

The fourth set of items involved grammatical sentences with ECM verbs in the three following conditions: *se*-ECM verbs in reflexive and reciprocal contexts, and transitive ECM verbs with object clitic pronouns. The third ECM sub-condition was a control one; its purpose was to establish whether L2ers knew that the verbs in question behaved as ECM verbs in the first place. The following four verbs were used in all the three conditions: *trouver* 'find', *considérer* 'consider', *croire* 'believe' and *présumer* 'presume/assume'. The reflexive, the reciprocal and the object clitic (transitive) conditions are exemplified in (13), (14) and (15), respectively.

(13) **Context:**

Ma sœur Liliane essaie toujours de faire connaître son opinion sur tous les sujets. Elle a un doctorat en littérature, et semble croire qu'elle en connaît plus que n'importe qui. À vrai dire, ce n'est pas toujours très clair ce qu'elle veut dire.

('My sister Liliane always tries to express her opinion on everything. She got a doctorate in literature and seems to believe that she knows more than anyone else. To tell the truth, it is not always very clear what she wants to say.')

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Sentence:

C'est évident que ma   sœur Liliane se   croit   très intelligente.
it is   clear   that my   sister Liliane SE   believes very intellegent
'It is clear that my sister Liliane considers herself intelligent.'

(14) **Context:**

Annie et Julien sont amoureux. Peu importe ce que disent les autres, Annie croit que Julien est le garçon le plus beau et le plus intelligent du monde entier. Julien est convaincu lui aussi qu'Annie est la fille la plus belle et la plus douée de tout l'univers.

('Annie and Julien are in love. No matter what others say, Annie believes that Julien is the most handsome and clever young man in whole world. Julien is also convinced that Annie is the most beautiful and gifted girl in the universe.')

Sentence:

Comme ils   sont amoureux, Annie et Julien se croient extraordinaires.
since   they are in love,   Annie & Julien SE believe extraordinary
'Annie and Julien are in love and consider each other extraordinary.'

(15) **Context:**

Rémi est le meilleur ami de Simone. Bien qu'il aime beaucoup Simone comme personne, il doit avouer qu'elle n'a pas beaucoup de charme. Par contre, la petite sœur de Simone est très jolie, et Rémi pense qu'elle n'a pas de copain. Il entend bien lui demander de sortir avec lui.

('Rémi is Simone's best friend. Although he likes Simone a lot as a person, he has to admit that she is not very charming. In contrast, Simone's little sister is very pretty and Rémi thinks that she does not have a boyfriend. He wants to ask her for a date.')

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Sentence:

Quant à la sœur de Simone, Rémi la croit célibataire.
as to the sister of Simone, Rémi her believes single
'As for Simone, Rémi believes her to be single.'

Finally, the last set of stimuli involved eight grammatical sentences each engaging a different *se*-verb: four verbs were again preceded with reflexive contexts, and the other four verbs were preceded with reciprocal contexts. However, the *se*-verbs in these reflexive and reciprocal conditions were of the so-called crosslinguistic type, i.e. they were verbs whose corresponding transitive counterparts prototypically undergo reflexivization or reciprocalization in both 'syntax' and 'lexicon' languages (in particular, they do in Russian and English, the L1s in the present study). Such verbs normally denote 'grooming' (*wash, dress, comb*) and 'frequently mutual' (*kiss*, *hug*, *meet*) actions, respectively (e.g. Haspelmath 2007), but the exact composition of such sets of verbs in 'lexicon' languages can differ from language to language. The prediction, presumably, is that L2 participants should not experience difficulty accepting grammatical sentences with crosslinguistic reflexive and reciprocal verbs and they should be recognized as possible from very early on as being supported by both transfer and positive evidence readily available in the input.[19] The purpose of the crosslinguistic condition was to ensure that the participants knew the very basic properties of French reflexive and reciprocal verbs, e.g. that these verbs require *se*, and that L2ers did not experience any general difficulty with the task itself. In other words, this condition served as a general baseline for the assessment of results from any other condition; if the L2 participants failed to perform accurately on these stimuli, there was not much sense proceeding with further

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[19] This prediction is more straightforward for Russian-speaking L2ers since Russian marks reflexive and reciprocal verbs overtly, similar to French. Since English does not mark its reflexive and reciprocal verbs overtly, a full transfer model (e.g. Schwartz & Sprouse 1996) predicts that they will initially assume French employs null morphology, too. See chapter 7 for further discussion of this point.

analysis. The four reflexive crosslinguistic items involved *se laver* (cf. *myt'sja* in Russian and *wash*, *shower* in English), *s'habiller* (cf. *odevat'sja* in Russian and *dress* in English), *se raser* (cf. *brit'sja* in Russian and *shave* in English) and *se gratter* (cf. *chesat'sja* in Russian and *scratch* in English). The reciprocal crosslinguistic items involved the following verbs: *s'embrasser* (cf. *obnimat'sja*, *celovat'sja* in Russian and *hug*, *kiss* in English), *se caresser (*cf. *obnimat'sja* in Russian and *pet* in English), *se battre* (*bit'sja*, *srazhat'sja*, *borot'sja* in Russian and *fight* in English) and *se rencontrer* (*vstrechat'sja* in Russian and *meet* in English). These reflexive and reciprocal conditions are exemplified in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) **Context:**

Jean avait une entrevue importante hier. Il a décidé qu'il aurait l'air plus sérieux avec le visage rasé. Alors il a allumé son rasoir et a rasé la barbe qu'il portait. En fait, l'entrevue a été plus difficile que prévue. Peut-être que Jean n'avait pas l'air tout à fait assez sérieux finalement.

('Jean had an important interview yesterday. He decided that he would look more serious if he shaved his face. So he turned on his shaver and shaved off his beard. In fact, the interview went worse than expected. Perhaps, Jean did not look serious enough in the end.')

Sentence:

Jean   s'   est rasé avant   son entrevue importante.
Jean   SE   shaved   before   his important interview
'Jean shaved (himself) before his important interview.'

(17) **Context:**

C'est la vidéo du premier anniversaire de mariage de François et Lucie. Dans la vidéo, François donne des fleurs à Lucie et elle lui rend un baiser joyeux. Ensuite, Lucie donne un nouveau chapeau à François et il l'embrasse à son tour.

('This is François and Lucie's first anniversary video. In this video, François gives flowers to Lucie and she kisses him happily. Then Lucie gives François a new hat and he kisses her in turn.)

Sentence:

François   et Lucie   s'   embrassent   dans la vidéo de l'anniversaire.
François   & Lucie   SE   kiss   in   the anniversary video
'François and Lucie kissed (each other) in the anniversary video.'

To take stock at this point, we have so far covered five sets of conditions, making for a total of 52 experimental stimuli: 36 grammatical and 16 ungrammatical; see table 3 above.

Given that most experimental items in the task (36 out of 52) were grammatical, a set of ungrammatical fillers was introduced to make sure that the number of grammatical and ungrammatical items in the task was more or less equal. The numbers of grammatical and ungrammatical items of the same type were made comparable; see table 4 below.

Table 4. Summary of Filler types (Acceptability Judgment Task).

	Sub-types of fillers	Number of items	Grammatical?
1. Passives	with *à lui(elle)-même*	2	Yes
	with *l'un à l'autre*	2	Yes
	with strong pronouns	2	No
2. Dative adjectives	with *à lui(elle)-même*	2	Yes
	with *l'un à l'autre*	2	Yes
	with strong pronouns	2	No
3. Productive verbs	transitives + *lui(elle)-même*	2	No
	transitives + *l'un l'autre*	2	No
	reflexives + wrong aux.	2	No
	discontinuous reciprocals	2	No
4. ECM	with *lui(elle)-même*	2	No
	with *l'un l'autre*	2	No
	with strong pronouns	2	No
5. Cross-linguistic verbs	transitives + *lui(elle)-même*	2	No
	transitives + *l'un l'autre*	2	No
	reflexives + wrong aux.	2	No
	discontinuous reciprocals	2	No

Thus, in the case of passives and dative adjectives, a few grammatical reflexive and reciprocal fillers and a few ungrammatical fillers with pronouns were added; these filler stimuli involved the same contexts as the corresponding experimental items but the sentences were modified minimally in the following way: reflexive and reciprocal strong anaphors, *à lui(elle)-même* 'him(her)self' and *l'un à l'autre* 'to each other', in lieu of the clitic *se*, see the grammatical (18) and (19), and full (strong) pronouns with the preposition *à* 'to' in lieu of pronominal clitics, see the ungrammatical (20).

(18) a. Alain   a été recommandé à lui-même   par   la maison d'édition.
       Alain   was   recommended to himself   by   the publishing house

b. Edgar et Arielle ont été décrits   l'un à l'autre par   leurs parents.
    Edgar & Arielle were   described to each other by   their parents

(19) a. En changeant toujours d'avis, Madeleine est infidèle   à elle-même.
       changing   always   opinion Madeleine is   unfaithful   to herself

b. Grâce à leur conseiller conjugal,   Lise et Albert sont plus   attentifs
    thanks to their marriage counsellor, Lise & Albert are more attentive
l'un à l'autre.
    to each other

(20) a. *Angelina et Brad sont décrits   à nous en détail par les revues.
       Angelina & Brad are described   to us   in detail by the magazines

b. *Je   soupçonne que   ma   blonde   Marlène est infidèle   à   moi.
    I   suspect   that my   girlfriend Marlène is unfaithful to me

As far as other conditions are concerned, the same technique was used to supply ungrammatical fillers corresponding to the grammatical experimental *se*-verb stimuli (with reflexive, see (21a, 22a), and reciprocal anaphors, see (21b, 22b), in lieu of *se*) and to the grammatical experimental stimuli involving clitic pronouns (strong personal pronouns, see (22c), in lieu of clitics).

(21) a. *C'est clair pour tout le monde que Basile aime lui-même profondément.
       it's clear   to   everybody   that Basile loves himself   deeply

b. *Fabien et Gérard aident   l'un l'autre avec leurs études à l'école.
    Fabien & Gérard help   each other with their studies   at school

(22) a. *C'est évident que ma sœur Liliane croit   elle-même très intelligente.
       it is clear   that my sister Liliane believes herself   very intelligent

b. *À cause de leurs désaccords,   Gabriel et Hélène   présument l'un l'autre

   because of their disagreement Gabriel & Hélène assume   each other

   stupides.

   stupide

c. *Ma   colocataire Béatrice   présume   moi   méchante.

   my   roommate Béatrice   assumes   me   mean

Moreover, to make sure that stimuli involving *se*-verbs were not always grammatical, a set of ungrammatical fillers with *se*-verbs was added to the total number of items in the task. Some fillers used a wrong auxiliary with a *se*-reflexive, see (23a), while other filler stimuli involved the ungrammatical discontinuous construction with reciprocals, see (23b).[20]

(23) a. *Jean   s'   a   rasé   avant   son   entrevue importante.

        Jean   SE   AUX shaved   before   his   important interview

     b. *François   s'   embrasse avec Lucie   dans la vidéo de l'anniversaire.

        François   SE   kiss   with Lucie   in   the anniversary video

As illustrated in table 3 above, there were 34 fillers in total: 8 grammatical and 26 ungrammatical. As a result, the acceptability judgment task ultimately involved 86 stimuli: 44 grammatical and 42 ungrammatical items. It is a welcome result that most fillers capitalized on aspects of reflexive and reciprocal verbs which were not directly relevant to the main focus of the study; this made the test less transparent.[21]

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[20] See the discussion of the discontinuous construction in chapter 3.

[21] If fillers were too different from the actual experimental items, they would stand out as outliers thus making the task more transparent rather than less so.

5.5.3 Truth Value Judgement Test

The second experimental task was a TVJT; it consisted of 36 semi-randomized test items, presented on a computer screen. Each test sentence was preceded by a short context (in French).

As mentioned earlier, the participants were instructed to carefully read the context and then decide whether or not the sentence that appeared beneath the story was necessarily true given the context of the story, i.e. whether or not the sentence followed from it. All the sentences were grammatical in this task. Some of the sentences were (potentially) ambiguous and some sentences were outright unambiguous, but the task sometimes focused on an unavailable reading, as explained below. The contexts always focused on only one reading – which was the same reading made true by the story – and they did not provide any information relevant for determining the truth value of other potentially available or non-existing readings of the sentence. Thus, the traditional TVJT methodology was modified in light of the discussion of the prototypical TVJT set-up in section 5.5.1 where it was suggested that relying on abidance by Charity is not justified with adult participants (and when two readings are not accessible to the same extent; see footnote 15). In experiments where both readings are triggered by the story, adult participants may in fact respond to either reading since Charity as a principle of adult communication is largely optional and in fact might not be at all operative when no actual communication takes place.

The rationale of the modified version of the TVJT used here was as follows. By default, since the story preceding the sentence triggered only the reading that was made true by the context, the participants were expected to respond to that reading and reply with 'yes' if they were able to generate/access the reading in question. There was still a possibility that the participants would accidentally notice ambiguity of the sentence and reply with 'no', so we must allow for some 'no' responses in such cases, too. If the participants could not access the reading in question, the only available reading would be the one which was not triggered by the story in which case the expected answer was always 'no', i.e. the sentence does not follow from the context. In the study, if the participants responded with

'no', they were asked to briefly explain their answer, which helped determine whether they responded relevantly. A prototypical relevant explanation was along the lines of 'the context does not mention X' where X is the reading which the participant could generate/access for the given sentence but not the one which the contexts made true.

The following six verbs were used to construct the experimental items discussed below: *se raser* 'shave(refl/rec)', *s'habiller* 'dress(refl/rec)', *se laver* 'wash(refl/rec)', *se détester* 'hate (refl/rec)', *s'aimer* 'love(refl/rec)' and *se dessiner* 'draw(refl/rec)', where the first three verbs belong to the crosslinguistic set of grooming reflexives and the remaining three verbs belong to the productive set. The task only dealt with reflexive contexts. The task drew on the ellipsis construction discussed in detail in chapter 3. In (24)-(29), each of the six *se*-verbs is illustrated in the ellipsis construction in (a) its *se*-intransitive, and (b) clitic-transitive use. Both (a) and (b) examples are potentially ambiguous, i.e. the remnant comparative can refer to either the subject or the object clitic, since both readings respect the grammatical requirement of semantic parallelism in both types of examples. At the same time, the object reading in (a) examples (which involve intransitive verbs) – unlike (b) examples (which involve transitive verbs) – does not conform to syntactic parallelism (favored by processing) resulting in native speakers' perception of the object reading as unnatural or only marginally possible with *se*-verbs.

(24) a. Adrien   se   rase   plus souvent que   Fabien.

       Adrien   SE   shaves   more often   than   Fabien

      (i)   'Adrien shaves himself more often than Fabien shaves himself.'

      (ii)   ??'Adrien shaves himself more often than he shaves Fabien.'

   b. Ma   femme   me   rase   plus souvent que   mon   frère.

       My   wife   me   shaves   more often   than   my   brother

      (i)   'My wife shaves me more often than my brother shaves me.'

      (ii)   'My wife shaves me more often than she shaves my brother.'

(25) a. Marie   s'   habille   plus   vite   que   Philémon.
     Marie   SE   dresses   more quickly   than   Philémon
     (i)   'Marie dresses herself faster than Philémon dresses himself.'
     (ii)   ??'Marie dresses herself faster than she dresses Philémon.'
   b. Gustave m'   habille   plus   vite   qu'   Hercule.
     Gustave me   dresses   more quickly   than   Hercule
     (i)   'Gustave dresses me faster than Hercule dresses me.'
     (ii)   'Gustave dresses me faster than he dresses Hercule.'

(26) a. Lucille   se   lave   avec plus de shampooing   que   Julie.
     Lucille   SE   washes   with more of shampoo   than   Julie
     (i)   'Lucille washes herself with more shampoo than Julie washes herself.'
     (ii)   ??'Lucille washes herself with more shampoo than she washes Julie.'
   b. Marcel   me lave   avec plus de shampooing   que   Pénélope.
     Marcel   me washes   with more of shampoo   than   Pénélope
     (i)   'Marcel washes me with more shampoo than Pénélope washes me.'
     (ii)   'Marcel washes me with more shampoo than she washes Pénélope.'

(27) a. Tristan   se   déteste   autant qu'   Anne.
     Tristan   SE   hates   as much as   Anne
     (i)   'Tristan hates himself more than Anne hates herself.'
     (ii)   ??'Tristan hates himself more than he hates Anne.'
   b. Xavier   me   déteste   autant que   Zacharie.
     Xavier   me   hates   as much as   Zacharie
     (i)   'Xavier hates me more than Zacharie hates me.'
     (ii)   'Xavier hates me more than he hates Zacharie.'

(28) a. Mélanie s'   aime   plus   qu'   Yvan.
     Mélanie SE   loves more than   Yvan
     (i)   'Mélanie loves herself more than Yvan loves himself.'
     (ii)   ??'Mélanie loves herself more than she loves Yvan.'

b. Suzanne m'   aime plus   que   Blaise.

Suzanne me   loves more than Blaise

    (i)   'Suzanne loves me more than Blaise loves me.'

    (ii)   'Suzanne loves me more than Blaise loves me.'

(29) a. Adèle   se   dessine mieux   que   Laurent.

Adèle   SE   draws   better   than Laurent

    (i)   'Adèle draws herself better than Laurent draws himself.'

    (ii)   ??'Adèle draws herself better than she draws Laurent.'

b. Sylvain me   dessine mieux   que   Charles.

Sylvain me   draws   better   than Charles

    (i)   'Sylvain draws me better than Charles draws me.'

    (ii)   'Sylvain draws me better than he draws Charles.'

Table 5 summarizes the TVJT design with regards to both experimental items and fillers. Each of the six verbs presented above was used in four different experimental conditions (making for a total of 24 experimental items) listed in table 5 and illustrated in (30)-(33) with the verb *habiller* 'dress'. Both the intransitive *s'habiller* 'dress(refl)' and the transitive *m'habiller* 'dress me' were paired once with a context that made the subject reading necessarily true, and once with a context that made the object reading necessarily true.

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Table 5. Truth Value Judgment Task Design.

Conditions	The reading made necessarily true by the context	Number of items	Target response
1. Intransitive (*se*) Subject Condition	Subject	6	Yes
2. Intransitive (*se*) Object Condition	Object	6	No
3. Transitive (*me*) Subject Condition	Subject	6	Yes
4. Transitive (*me*) Object Condition	Object	6	Yes
5. Filler (*me*) Subject Condition	Subject	9	No
6. **Filler (*me*) Object Condition**	Object	3	No

The Intransitive (*se*) Object Condition, exemplified in (30), was the crucial one. If the L2ers' provided the (non-target) 'yes' response in this condition, then they were able to access the reading where the remnant comparative referred to *se*, which could be taken to infer that their representation of *se* is that of the verb's argument and object (in compliance with the classroom generalization regarding *se*). By contrast, if the L2ers' response was 'no' in this condition (the target response), then they could not readily access the reading where the remnant comparative referred to *se*, suggesting that they do not represent *se* as the verb's argument and object (contra the generalization promoted in the classroom).

(30) **Intransitive (*se*) Object Condition**

(the target response is 'no': the sentence does not follow from the context)

Context:

C'est un drôle de concours d'habillage pour couples. Le couple gagnant est celui où la femme arrive le plus vite à s'habiller elle-même et ensuite son mari. Les règles ne permettent pas aux maris de s'habiller seuls. Gisèle déteste ce concours, car elle s'habille toujours rapidement, mais prend longtemps à habiller son mari et ils perdent toujours.

(This is a funny dressing competition for couples. The winning couple is the one where the wife dresses herself and then her husband faster than women in the other couples. The rules do not allow husbands to dress on their own. Gisèle hates this competition as she always dresses herself quickly but it takes her a lot of time to get her husband dressed and she always loses.)

Sentence:

Gisèle s'   habille plus vite   que son mari.
Gisèle SE   dresses more quickly than her   husband

Although the Intransitive (*se*) Object Condition was indeed the most important condition, the exact interpretation of the participants' responses for it ultimately depended on a number of control conditions. Thus, the Intransitive (*se*) Subject Condition (31) established whether the participants could generate the reading where the remnant comparative referred to the subject of the reflexive *se*-verb. If the participants experienced difficulty in this control condition, their failure to access the object reading could result from a more general problem with *se*-verbs in this task. Moreover, since the object reading is dispreferred (due to parsing restrictions) rather than outright ungrammatical with *se*-verbs, it was in fact important to check whether the participants observed the relevant contrast in their acceptance of the subject reading vs. the object reading.

(31) **Intransitive (*se*) Subject Condition**

(the target response is 'yes': the sentence follows from the context)

Context:

Marie a un fils, Philémon, qui a 4 ans. De temps en temps, quand ils sortent pour une promenade, Marie permet à Philémon de s'habiller tout seul. Bien sûr, Marie s'habille assez vite, mais Philémon prend beaucoup de temps à s'habiller.

(Marie has a 4-year old son whose name is Philémon. From time to time, when they go out for a walk, Marie allows Philémon to get dressed on his own. Marie gets dressed quite fast, but it takes a lot of time for Philémon to dress himself.)

Sentence:

Marie   s'   habille plus vite   que Philémon.
Marie   SE   dresses more quickly than Philémon

The Transitive (*me*) Object Condition (32) determined whether the participants could generate object readings in principle. Indeed, if they failed to respond with 'yes' in this control condition, their 'no' response in the Intransitive (*se*) Object Condition could result from a more general problem with object readings in this task. It was also important to check whether participants observed the relevant contrast in their acceptance of the object reading with transitives vs. intransitives.

(32) **Transitive (*me*) Object Condition**

(the target response is 'yes': the sentence follows from the context)

Context:

C'est un concours d'habillage dans lequel les participants forment des groupes de 3, et où une personne doit habiller les deux autres aussi vite que possible. En général, il est plus long d'habiller une femme qu'un homme.

Cela prend donc 1 minute pour Joseph de m'habiller, mais 3 minutes pour Joseph d'habiller Monique.

(This is a dressing contest between groups of 3 people. In each group one person needs to dress the other two as quickly as possible. It generally takes longer to dress a woman than a man. So it takes Joseph one minute to dress me, but it takes him 3 minutes to dress Monique.)

Sentence:

Joseph m' habille plus vite que Monique.
Joseph me dresses more quickly than Monique

To recap, evidence for the target-like representation of *se* involves observation of contrasts relevant to the linguistic behavior of the clitic *se* in ellipsis constructions: acceptance of the subject reading versus rejection of the object reading with *se*-verbs, on the one hand, and acceptance of the object reading with clitic pronouns versus rejection of the object reading with *se*, on the other hand. Finally, the Transitive (*me*) Subject Condition (33) set the baseline for the analysis of the expected contrast in acceptance rates of the subject versus the object readings with *se*-reflexives.[22]

(33) **Transitive (*me*) Subject Condition**

(the target response is 'yes': the sentence follows from the context)

Context:

C'est un concours d'habillage où deux personnes essaient d'habiller quelqu'un d'autre aussi vite que possible. Cette fois, c'est moi qu'ils doivent habiller. Gustave gagne car il m'habille en 50 secondes, tandis qu'Hercule prend 70 secondes pour m'habiller complètement.

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[22] In other words, it was important to check if the observed subject/object contrasts were the same or different with *se*-verbs and transitives.

(This is a dressing contest where two people compete in how fast they can dress someone else. This time they need to dress me. Gustave wins as he dresses me in 50 seconds, while it takes Hercule 70 seconds to dress me fully.)

Sentence:

Gustave	m'	habille	plus	vite	qu'	Hercule.
Gustave	*me*	*dresses*	*more*	*quickly*	*than*	*Hercule*

Turning to fillers items, the test included a set of 12 fillers. Similar to the procedure adopted for the AJT (section 5.5.2), fillers balanced items with the target 'yes' and the target 'no' response to make comparable numbers of 'yes' and 'no' items in each relevant category.

To begin with, 'no' was the target response in just one experimental condition – the Intransitive (*se*) Object Condition (28) – that is, only in six stimuli. If the task only involved the 24 experimental items, it would bias the participants towards a 'yes' response; therefore, fillers with the target 'no' response were added.

The target response was always 'yes' in stimuli that made the subject reading true. To ensure that the participants were not merely biased to always accept items in this category in particular, fillers where the non-existing subject reading was made true – and (hence) the target response was 'no' – were added, see (34).[23] The same fillers also involved the object pronoun *me*, to address another concern, namely, that experimental items involving *me* always required a 'yes' response.

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[23] Out of 12 items that made the object reading true, the target response was 'yes' in 6 items and 'no' in 6 items.

(34) **Filler (*me*) Subject Condition**

(the target response is 'no': the sentence does not follow from the context)

Context:

Mes meilleurs amis Bruno et Cécile sont en voyage cette année: Bruno est à Londres et Cécile est en Australie. Nous nous sommes entendus pour rester en contact et je leur envoie régulièrement des lettres. Bruno m'envoie souvent des lettres en réponse, alors que Cécile semble être trop occupée puisque je ne reçois pas beaucoup de lettres d'elle.

(My best friends Bruno and Cécile have gone abroad this year: Bruno is in London and Cécile is in Australia. We agreed to stay in touch and I send them letters regularly. Bruno often replies to me, while Cécile seems to be too busy as I don't receive many letters from her.)

Sentence:

Bruno   m'   écrit   plus de lettres   qu'   à Cécile.

Bruno   me   writes   more of letters   than   to Cécile

(i)   *'Bruno writes more letters to me than Cécile does.'

(ungrammatical reading made true by the context)

(ii)   'Bruno writes more letters to me than to Cécile.'

(grammatical reading that doesn't follow from the context)

In addition to nine fillers of the type illustrated in (34), three other fillers were of the type illustrated in (35) where the non-existing object reading was made true by the context, *me* was still involved and the target response was still 'no'. Their purpose was to (partially) balance the overall number of items where the contexts made the subject reading true and where the contexts made the object reading true. The two types of fillers also make the task significantly less transparent to participants.

(35) **Filler (*me*) Object Condition**

(the target response is 'no': the sentence does not follow from the context)

Context:

Florentin est un élève très populaire dans notre école. Puisque nos pères travaillent au même endroit, il vient parfois me parler. Il ne parle presque jamais aux autres filles à l'école, incluant Chloé qui est clairement amoureuse de lui.

(Florentin is a very popular student in our school. Since our fathers work together, he sometimes talks to me. He almost never talks to other girls at school, including Chloé who is obviously in love with him.)

Sentence:

Florentin   me   parle plus que   Chloé.

Florentin   me   talks more than Chloé

(i)   'Florentin talks to me more than Chloé talks to me.'

      (grammatical reading that doesn't follow from the context)

(ii)   *'Florentin talks to me more than he talks to Chloé.'

      (ungrammatical reading made true by the context)

To summarize, the TVJT involved 36 items in total: 24 experimental items and 12 fillers; see table 4 above. The number of items requiring a 'no' response (n = 18) was exactly the same as the number of items requiring a 'yes' response (n = 18). The number of items where the subject reading was made true (n = 21) was comparable to the number of items where the object reading was made true (n = 15). Moreover, the number of items where the subject reading was made true and where the target response was 'yes' (n = 12) was comparable to the number of items where the subject reading was made true and where the target response was 'no' (n = 9). Likewise, the number of items where the object reading was made true and where the target response was 'yes' (n = 6) was comparable to the number of items where the object reading was made true and where the target

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response was 'no' (n = 9). Also note, that items involving *me* did not always require a 'yes' response (12 items required 'yes' and 12 items required 'no'). As for *se* stimuli, the number of items requiring a 'no' response was exactly the same as the number of items requiring a 'yes' response (6 stimuli in each case).[24]

5.6 Summary

The present chapter has discussed the methodology of an experiment designed to answer the question of whether Russian- and English-speaking L2 learners of French converge on a native-like representation of *se*, despite the misleading classroom instruction. To summarise, the experiment involves two main tasks: contextualized grammaticality judgments and truth value judgments. Both tasks involve constructions where *se* and clitic pronouns behave differently. The rationale is that, if L2 participants observe the relevant contrast, this finding would suggest that the inaccurate classroom instruction is not internalized, thus supporting L2 acquisition models that argue for the availability of domain-specific language acquisition mechanisms (similar to L1 acquisition).

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[24] However, the task did ultimately involve twice as many items with *me* (n = 24), an object clitic pronoun, as with *se* (n = 12), which could bias the participants towards the pronominal misanalysis of *se*.

6. Results

6.1 Cloze Test: Results

Both the native speakers and the L2ers completed the cloze test (see section 5.4). The French native speakers' results set the baseline; as expected, their scores were high, with the score range of 32-45 and the average score of 39.1. The L2ers' score range was 15-42, with the average score of 28.1; nine L2ers (25.7%) scored in the range of native speakers.

Drawing on Tremblay & Coughlin (2009), the L2 participants in the present study were divided into intermediate (score of 26 and lower) and advanced (score of 27 and higher), see table 1.

Table 1. Number of Participants in Each Proficiency Group (based on a cloze test), L2ers.

	Intermediate (26 and lower)	Advanced (27 and higher)
L1 English (n=16)	5	11
L1 Russian (n=19)	8	11

6.2 Experimental Tasks: Results

6.2.1 Explicit Knowledge of the Classroom Generalization

To recap, the L2 learners who were not involved in an FSL classroom at the time of the experiment (28 out of 35) were asked to fill out a short questionnaire probing their explicit knowledge of the classroom generalization about *se*. 15 out of 28 participants described *se* as a pronoun and the object of the verb in this task, 7 English-speaking and 8 Russian-speaking subjects. I will refer to these participants as 'rememberers' (i.e. they remembered the classroom instruction regarding *se*) as opposed to those subjects that forgot the classroom generalization, whom I will label 'forgetters' (n=13).[1]

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[1] The L2ers who were enrolled in an FSL classroom at the time of the experiment and participated in a short intervention (drawing on the classroom generalization about *se*) in the beginning of the

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A factorial ANOVA with cloze test score as the dependent variable, and L1 group (Russian or English) and explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (rememberers, forgetters or currently instructed L2ers) as two independent variables, revealed a significant main effect for *se* misanalysis knowledge ($f(2, 29)=4.7$, $p<0.05$), no effect for L1 group ($f(1, 29)= 0.8$, $p=0.4$) and a significant interaction effect between the *se* misanalysis knowledge and the group factors ($f(2, 29)=4.1$, $p<0.05$). Post hoc Scheffé tests showed that the main effect for *se* misanalysis knowledge was exclusively due to the difference between the rememberers and the forgetters: the former scored significantly higher on the cloze tests than the latter ($p=0.04$). The interaction effect is best interpreted as being due to the scores of the currently instructed L2ers where the English-speaking L2ers ($n=5$) scored significantly higher than the Russian-speaking L2ers ($n=2$), but given the size of these two groups their comparison would not be not very meaningful.[2] Group mean cloze test scores are given in table 2; standard deviations are provided in parentheses.

Table 2. Group Mean Cloze Test Scores.

	Forgetters	Rememberers	Currently instructed L2ers
L1 English	23 (4.9), n=4	29.2 (3.6), n=7	31 (5.7), n=5
L1 Russian	26 (7.1), n=9	32.5 (5.8), n=8	19 (4.2), n=2

Ideally, both the proficiency factor and the explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge factor needed to be included into the analysis of the experimental results. However, taking too many factors into account would complicate the interpretation of many statistical analyses (the interpretation of interaction effects,

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experiment (5 English-speaking and 2 Russian-speaking L2 learners of French), were not asked to fill out the explicit *se* questionnaire.

[2] Indeed, when a factorial ANOVA was run on rememberers vs. forgetters only, there was no interaction effect ($f(1, 24)= 0.002$, $p=1$).

in particular). Note that besides the proficiency and the *se* misanalysis knowledge factors, ANOVA tests run for the present data had to draw on the number of acceptances as the dependent variable, L1 group as one grouping variable and type of construction (experimental condition) as the repeated measure. To facilitate the interpretation, I first employed proficiency as an additional grouping variable to talk about all results (including those from the currently instructed L2ers) more generally. I then relied on explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge rather than proficiency to ultimately formulate a claim that would be most relevant for the present study, and focus on the rememberers and the forgetters more specifically. Note that on average (i.e. based on the means in table 2), the rememberers fell into the advanced group, while the forgetters fell into the intermediate group; as a result, it is unlikely that any important insights were lost by putting the proficiency factor aside some of the time.

6.2.2 Acceptability Judgement Test
6.2.2.1 Acceptability Judgement Test: Overall Results

To gain an overall grasp of the AJT data and determine the source of major differences, I conducted mixed factorial (between-group and repeated measures) ANOVAs (SPSS 16.0 for Windows) with number of acceptances as the dependent variable, L1 group (French, Russian or English), proficiency (controls, advanced L2ers or intermediate L2ers) and explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (rememberers or forgetters) as grouping variables, and type of construction (experimental condition) as the repeated measure. Post hoc Scheffé, Tamhane's T2 tests and paired t-tests with a Bonferroni correction were also run, as appropriate.[3] To

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[3] As post hoc tests are not available for repeated measures in SPSS (because most post hoc tests are not valid in the case of within-subject factors), the recommended procedure is to use paired t-tests and then apply a Bonferroni correction to the probability at which these tests are accepted (Field 2009). Post hoc Scheffé tests are performed for between-subject factors when equal variances can be assumed (Levene's test). Post hoc Tamhane's T2 tests are performed for between-subject factors when the assumption of homogeneity of variance is violated; Tamhane's T2 is the most conservative post hoc test among those available in SPSS in the case of unequal variances.

interpret interaction effects reliably, additional ANOVA tests were run within particular groups of participants on relevant sets of data.

I will begin with the productivity property of French verbal reflexivization and reciprocalization, for which the crosslinguistic, the productive and the ECM grammatical conditions (with the reflexive and the reciprocal subconditions each) are relevant. The Group mean acceptance scores (out of four) for each of the six conditions are given in table 3; standard deviations are provided in parentheses.[4]

Table 3. Productivity: Group Mean Acceptance Scores.

	L1 French (controls) (n=19)	L1 English (n=16)	L1 Russian (n=19)
Crosslinguistic *se*-reflexives	3.95 (0.23)	4.00 (0.00)	4.00 (0.00)
Crosslinguistic *se*-reciprocals	4.00 (0.00)	4.00 (0.00)	3.95 (0.23)
Productive *se*-reflexives	3.95 (0.23)	3.81 (0.40)	3.32 (1.06)
Productive *se*-reciprocals	3.79 (0.42)	3.56 (1.03)	2.74 (1.10)
Reflexive *se* ECM	3.74 (0.56)	4.00 (0.00)	3.58 (0.77)
Reciprocals *se* ECM	3.05 (1.22)	3.38 (1.26)	2.79 (1.44)

Employing first proficiency (rather than the explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge factor) as an additional grouping variable, a three-way repeated measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect for condition ($f(2.6, 127.2)=14.1$,

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[4] There were four stimuli in each condition.

p<0.000001), a significant main effect for L1 group (f(1, 49)=7.7, p<0.01), no effect for proficiency (f(1,49)=0.1, p=0.8) and no interaction effects.[5]

While overall, all the six constructions were relatively well accepted, an apparent asymmetry was observed between reflexive and reciprocal conditions as far as productive and ECM verbs are concerned; more specifically, all groups seemed to be more accurate on reflexives than on reciprocals. However, this asymmetry achieved statistical significance only in the case of ECM verbs (p<0.05), as revealed by paired t-tests. Acceptance of reflexives versus reciprocals was not significantly different for the productive and the crosslinguistic conditions, p=0.1 and p=1, respectively.

As the crosslinguistic conditions established the baseline (see chapter 5), the participants' performance on the productive and the ECM conditions needed to be compared to their performance on crosslinguistic verbs. However, given the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry just observed, it made most sense to compare the three conditions for reciprocal and reflexive verbs separately. To this end, paired t-tests showed that the performance on crosslinguistic *se*-reflexives was different from the performance on productive *se*-reflexives (p<0.05) but not from the

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[5] The *F*-ratio is presented with two sets of degrees of freedom such that the first number is normally calculated as *a - 1*, where *a* stands for the number of levels of the explanatory variable, while the second number is normally calculated as *N – a* (Field 2009, amongst many others). For example, in a one-way ANOVA, *f(2,30)=4.2, p<0.05* could describe a significant effect of proficiency on acceptance scores for a construction of a specific type in a study involving 3 proficiency groups (resulting in 2 degrees of freedom for the effect) and a total of 33 participants (resulting in 30 error degrees of freedom). However, SPSS provides corrected values for degrees of freedom in various less straightforward scenarios, and in particular when the assumption of homogeneity of variance is violated. To provide one example, in the case of the productivity property (see above), Mauchly's test of sphericity indicates that the assumption of homogeneity of variance is violated for the mixed repeated measures ANOVA, $\chi^2(14)=166.2$, p<0.000001. Therefore, degrees of freedom are corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon=0.5$), resulting – in particular – in 2.6 rather than 5 degrees of freedom for the main effect for condition (6 conditions/construction types). Any further discussion of such corrections is beyond the scope of this thesis; I generally rely on SPSS to provide appropriate values.

performance on ECM *se*-reflexives (p=0.2), while the differences between productive and ECM *se*-reflexives were also non-significant (p=1). As for reciprocals, the performance on the crosslinguistic condition was different from the performance on both the productive (p<0.00005) and the ECM conditions (p<0.005), while the differences between the latter two conditions were again non-significant (p=1). To take stock, the performance on reflexives caused fewer differences in the results than the performance on reciprocals. The acceptance of grammatical reciprocals was generally somewhat decreased as compared to acceptance of reflexives, but since crosslinguistic verbs were not affected by this tendency, it is the performance on reciprocals that looks less homogeneous.

Post hoc Tamhane's T2 tests showed that the differences in performance between the French controls and the English-speaking French L2ers were not significant (p=1). Technically, while the Russian-speaking L2ers' performance was not different from the performance of the control group (p=0.053), it was different from the English-speaking groups (p=0.046), but the p value in both cases was very close to 0.05. Although the mixed ANOVA did not reveal any significant interaction effects, table 3 suggests that the overall significant main effect for L1 group stems from differences in performance on the productive and the ECM conditions, while the performance on the cross-linguistic condition is similar across the three L1 groups.

As mentioned, the above analysis has taken data from all participants into consideration and employed proficiency rather than explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge as an additional grouping variable. I will now report the results of a mixed factorial ANOVA with number of acceptances as the dependent variable, L1 group and explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (controls, rememberers or forgetters) as the two grouping variables, and type of construction as the repeated measure.[6] The conclusions drawn from this analysis turned out to be very similar to the conclusions above, since – as mentioned – the rememberers roughly corresponded to the group of advanced L2ers while the forgetters roughly corresponded to the group of intermediate L2ers, and the size of the excluded

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[6] The currently instructed L2 group is thus excluded from this analysis.

group was not large. First, the analysis again showed a significant main effect for condition $(f(2.5, 106.3)=12.4, p<0.000005)$, a significant main effect for L1 group $(f(1, 42)=4.8, p=0.05)$, no effect for explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge $(f(1,42)=0.6, p=0.4)$ and no interaction effects. Second, the same asymmetry was observed between the reflexive and the reciprocal conditions, and it again reached statistical significance only in the case of ECM verbs $(p<0.05)$, as revealed by paired t-tests. Comparing the performance on the crosslinguistic conditions to the performance on the productive and the ECM conditions, there was only one slightly different finding: t-tests now showed that no difference in the reflexive conditions achieved statistical significance, but the performance on crosslinguistic reciprocals was again different from the performance on both productive reciprocals $(p<0.0005)$ and reciprocal ECMs $(p<0.005)$, while the differences between the latter two conditions were non-significant $(p=1)$. This confirmed the earlier conclusion that the performance on reflexives caused fewer differences in the results than the performance on reciprocals.

I now turn to those experimental conditions that tapped the implicit knowledge of *se* as a detransitivity marker; the passive and the adjectival conditions are relevant here. Group mean acceptance scores (out of four) for each of the six conditions are given in tables 4 and 5; standard deviations are provided in parentheses. Table 4 compares controls' scores to each of the L1 group of L2ers. Table 5 illustrates how controls' scores compare to the L2 proficiency groups.

Table 4. Passive and Adjectives: L1 Group Mean Acceptance Scores.

	L1 French (controls) (n=19)	L1 English (n=16)	L1 Russian (n=19)
Reflexive *se*-passives	0.1 (0.3)	1.5 (1.3)	0.7 (0.8)
Reciprocal *se*-passives	0.2 (0.5)	2.8 (1)	1.7 (1.1)
Passives with cl. pronouns	3.9 (0.4)	3.3 (1)	3.5 (0.7)
Reflexive *se*-adjectives	0.8 (1.1)	1.5 (1.5)	1 (1.1)
Reciprocal *se*-adjectives	1.8 (1.3)	2.8 (1.2)	1.8 (1.2)
Adjectives with cl. pronouns	2.8 (0.7)	2 (1.3)	1.8 (1)

Table 5. Passive and Adjectives: Proficiency Group Mean Acceptance Scores.

	French controls (n=19)	Advanced L2ers (n=22)	Intermediate (n=13)
Reflexive *se*-passives	0.1 (0.3)	1 (1.2)	1.3 (0.9)
Reciprocal *se*-passives	0.2 (0.5)	2.2 (1.2)	2.3 (1.2)
Passives with cl. pronouns	3.9 (0.4)	3.8 (0.5)	3 (1.2)
Reflexive *se*-adjectives	0.8 (1.1)	1.1 (1.4)	1.4 (1.3)
Reciprocal *se*-adjectives	1.8 (1.3)	2.3 (1.4)	2.5 (1.3)
Adjectives with cl. pronouns	2.8 (0.7)	1.9 (1.1)	1.9 (1.1)

With proficiency employed as an additional grouping variable, a three-way repeated measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect for condition ($f(4.4, 217.9)=54.8$, $p<0.000001$), a significant main effect for L1 ($f(1, 49)=4.9$, $p<0.05$) and no effect for proficiency ($f(1,49)=0.1$, $p=0.7$). Significant interaction effects were found between the L1 group and the type of construction ($f(4.4, 217.9)=4.3$, $p<0.005$), between the proficiency and the type of construction ($f(4.4, 217.9)=2.7$, $p<0.05$), and between the L1 group, the proficiency and the type of construction ($f(4.4, 217.9)=2.5$, $p<0.05$).

Similar to the case of grammatical *se* verbs and ECM constructions, an asymmetry was observed between the reflexive and the reciprocal conditions for both ungrammatical *se*-passive and *se*-adjectives. In terms of accuracy, all groups again appeared to be more accurate on the reflexive conditions than on the reciprocal ones. However, in terms of acceptance rates, the asymmetry had a reverse effect on the ungrammatical *se* conditions: acceptance of reciprocal *se*-passives and *se*-adjectives was increased as compared to acceptance of reflexive

se-passives and *se*-adjectives. This asymmetry was statistically significant for both passive (p<0.000001) and adjectival (p<0.00001) constructions, as paired t-tests show. Additional repeated measures ANOVAs and subsequent paired t-tests conducted for each language group separately confirmed that the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry was statistically significant in each language group except for the native controls' passive data and the Russian-speaking L2ers' adjectival data (cf. table 4). The reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry was statistically significant in both L2 proficiency groups (cf. table 5).

In addition, while native controls' acceptance of ungrammatical *se*-passives was close to zero, which contrasted with the performance of the L2ers who accepted *se*-passives some of the time, the controls appeared to accept *se*-adjectives over 25% of the time, thus performing more on a par with the L2ers who also did not always reject *se*-adjectives. As will be discussed in chapter 7, this finding is expected since – unlike *se*-passives – *se*-adjectives are not straightforwardly ungrammatical in French (chapter 3).

Lastly, while participants' acceptance of grammatical control passives was relatively high, their performance on control adjectives was less accurate displaying overall decreased acceptance of clitic pronouns with adjectives. Paired t-tests confirmed that this difference in the performance on the two control conditions was indeed significant (p<0.000001). This difference was also significant within each language group and for both L2 proficiency groups, as confirmed with additional repeated measures ANOVAs and paired t-tests. In the case of native speakers, this performance is probably due to a problem with one of the adjectives (in both the control and *se*-conditions) and to another problem with one stimulus in the control condition; the situation with L2 learners appears to be more complex, implying a more general difficulty with adjectives.[7, 8]

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[7] The differences in acceptance of reflexive *se*-passives vs. reflexive *se*-adjectives and the differences in acceptance of reciprocal *se*-passives vs. reciprocal *se*-adjectives were not significant, overall. In other words, reflexive *se*-adjectives and reflexives *se*-passives were rejected to the same extent, and reciprocal *se*-adjectives and reciprocal *se*-passives were also rejected to the same extent. This was also true of both L2 groups and both proficiency groups, when they were

As grammatical constructions with pronominal clitics were control conditions, the following two comparisons were relevant: acceptance of the reflexive *se* conditions versus the pronominal conditions and acceptance of the reciprocal *se* conditions versus the pronominal conditions. Starting with passives, paired t-tests revealed that passives with clitic pronouns were accepted significantly better than both reflexive and reciprocal *se*-passives (p<0.000001). This particular overall result was also confirmed for each of the language groups except for the English-speaking L2ers whose performance on reciprocal *se*-passives and passives with clitic pronouns was not significantly different. As far as the advanced/intermediate split is concerned, while the advanced L2ers' acceptance of passives with clitic pronouns was significantly higher than their acceptance of both reflexive and reciprocal *se*-passives, the intermediate L2ers' acceptance of reciprocal *se*-passives and passives with clitic pronouns was again not statistically different.

As for the adjectival constructions, while adjectives with clitic pronouns were accepted significantly more often than reflexive *se*-adjectives (p=0.0001), the difference in the performance on adjectives with clitic pronouns vs. reciprocal *se*-adjectives was not significant (p=1). This result is due to the decreased acceptance of clitic pronouns with adjectives and the increased acceptance of reciprocal *se*-adjectives (referred to above). When checked separately, all L2 groups (except the intermediate group) observed the same statistical contrasts, while the native

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checked separately; however, the native controls did reject reciprocal *se*-passives more often than reciprocal *se*-adjectives.

[8] Discarding problematic items would boost the native controls' acceptance of the control adjectival condition, but since the control group already observed a statistically significant contrast in their acceptance of the control condition vs. both *se*-adjectival conditions (see below), I do not report the revised analyses (mean scores and statistics) here. Discarding problematic items had no visible effect on the L2ers' results.

controls' performance on both reflexive and reciprocal *se*-adjectives was different from the control adjectival condition (p<0.05).[9]

Post hoc Tamhane's T2 tests showed that the French controls' and Russian-speaking L2ers' performance differences were not significant (p=0.7). The English-speaking L2ers' performance was not statistically different from the performance of the Russian-speaking group (p=0.1) but it was different from the performance of the controls (p<0.05).

Excluding the group of currently instructed L2ers and focusing specifically on how controls' data compare to the data from the rememberers and the forgetters, I again employed the explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (rather than proficiency) as an additional grouping variable. The only important difference was that there was now no effect for L1 group (f(1, 42)=3.5, p=0.07). On certain conditions, the forgetters performed worse than the rememberers, resulting in a significant interaction between the explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge and the type of construction. Similar to the intermediate group in the previous run of an ANOVA, the forgetters observed the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry in both passives and adjectives; they also distinguished between the control passive and the reflexive passive conditions, but they showed no other relevant contrasts. The rememberers observed the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry, too; similar to the advanced group in the previous run of an ANOVA, they also showed a statistically significant difference in the performance on the control passive and the reflexive/reciprocal passive conditions, the control adjectival and the reflexive adjectival conditions. As before, the control group observed the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry in adjectives only; the control participants also observed statistically significant differences in the performance on each of the control conditions vs. the corresponding reflexive and reciprocal conditions.

To summarize the main points of the AJT results, both L2 groups were quite accurate on the productivity conditions and observed the relevant native-like

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[9] The intermediate L2ers' performance on the control adjectival condition was not statistically different from their performance on either *se*-adjectival condition.

distinction between *se* and true clitic pronouns. At the same time, the Russian group was more accurate on passives than the English group. All groups of participants, including the native controls, were more accurate on reflexives than on reciprocals, although this asymmetry affected each group somewhat differently. While proficiency did not affect the L2ers' performance on productivity, the advanced L2ers were more accurate at recognizing the non-pronominal status of *se* than the intermediates. The explicit knowledge of the classroom rule had the same effect on the results since the group of rememberers roughly corresponded to the group of advanced L2ers while the forgetters roughly corresponded to the group of intermediates. In other words, the explicit knowledge of the classroom rule had no effect on productivity, but – strikingly (see discussion in chapter 7) – the performance on passives and adjectives was somewhat more native-like in those who remembered the classroom misanalysis than in the forgetters. The rememberers observed the relevant (*se* vs. true pronouns) contrast in both passive subconditions and with the reflexive *se* in the adjectival construction, while the forgetters made the relevant distinction only with the reflexive *se* in passives.

6.2.2.2 Acceptability Judgement Test: Currently Instructed L2ers

Out of 36 French L2ers whose data was considered for the analysis, two Russian speakers and five English speakers were involved in FSL instruction at the time of testing. Their testing procedure was somewhat different in that it involved a short intervention session and no explicit *se* questionnaire at the end of the experiment. As mentioned, the present study was not meant to focus on such L2ers, but since they made themselves available for the study they were tested and their data are examined here as well. The obvious rationale is that if the explicit classroom rule ever affects L2ers' competence and performance, it should be particularly effective with learners taking classes at the time of testing, especially if they are reminded of the rule right before their testing session.

While no meaningful conclusions could be drawn based on the data from the two Russian speakers, the data from the five English speakers could in fact be

viewed as a pilot study. In this section, I briefly discuss the results of these five L2ers as they compare to the rest of the English-speaking L2ers of comparable proficiency. The group of currently instructed L2ers included advanced participants mostly, as suggested by the average cloze test score (31); the individual scores ranged 22-45, with only one participant falling into the intermediate group. Proficiency-wise, the currently instructed L2ers were then more comparable to the rememberers rather than to the forgetters (see table 6).[10]

Table 6. English-speaking L2ers: Average Close Test Scores.

	Forgetters	Rememberers	Currently instructed L2ers
L1 English	23 (4.9), n=4	29.2 (3.6), n=7	31 (5.7), n=5

Comparing the rememberers to the currently instructed L2ers, the two groups performed similarly on all the experimental conditions (see table 7). In particular, a two-way repeated measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect for condition ($f(11, 110)=11.6$, $p<0.000001$), but no effect for group ($f(1, 10)=0.2$, $p=0.7$), and no interaction effect ($f(11, 110)=0.7$, $p=0.7$). In other words, although the intervention session could in principle result in higher acceptance of *se* with adjectives and passives, the comparison between the two groups showed that no such effect was in fact observed.

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[10] Among the rememberers, only one L2er fell into the intermediate group, with the score of 22; among the forgetters, only one L2er fell into the advanced group, with the score of 30.

Table 7. English-speaking L2ers: Rememberers vs. Currently Instructed L2ers.

	Rememberers (n=7)	Currently Instructed (n=5)
Crossl. *se*-reflexives	4 (0)	4 (0)
Crossl. *se*-reciprocals	4 (0)	4 (0)
Prod. *se*-reflexives	4 (0)	3.6 (0.5)
Prod. *se*-reciprocals	3.4 (1.5)	3.8 (0.4)
Reflexive *se* ECM	4 (0)	4 (0)
Reciprocals *se* ECM	2.7 (1.7)	4 (0)
Reflexive *se*-passives	1.1 (1.2)	1.8 (1.8)
Reciprocal *se*-passives	2.7 (1.1)	2.8 (1.3)
Passives + cl. pronouns	3.7 (0.5)	3.8 (0.4)
Reflexive *se*-adjectives	1.9 (2)	1.4 (0.9)
Reciprocal *se*-adjectives	2.9 (1.5)	3 (1)
Adjectives + cl. pronouns	2.3 (1.4)	2.4 (1.3)

6.2.2.3 Acceptability Judgement Test: Individual Results

In this section, individual data are described, to get an idea as to what extent the group results reported above reflect properties of individual grammars. For this purpose, I define consistent target response as three or four acceptances or rejections (out of four), drawing on White et al. (1997), among others. These individual results are presented in tables 8 and 9.

Table 8. Productivity Conditions: Number of Participants with Consistent Target Response.

	Cross. *se*-refl.	Cross. *se*-rec.	Prod. *se*-refl.	Prod. *se*-rec.	ECM *se*-refl.	ECM *se*-rec.
Natives (n=19)	19	19	19	19	18	13
L2ers, L1 Russian (n=19)	19	19	16	13	16	13
L2ers, L1 English (n=16)	16	16	16	15	16	13

Table 9. *Se*-passives and *Se*-adjectives: Number of Participants with Consistent Target Response.

	Refl. *se*-passives	Rec. *se*-passives	Refl. *se*-adjectives	Rec. *se*-adjectives
Natives (n=19)	19	19	13	8
L2ers, L1 Russian (n=19)	16	9	14	5
L2ers, L1 English (n=16)	8	2	9	3

First, the native speakers were consistent on the majority of the productivity conditions, except for the ECM condition, where about one third of them failed to consistently accept items in the reciprocal subcondition (see table 8). While this

group was also consistent on ungrammatical *se*-passives, *se*-adjectives elicited less homogeneous responses (see table 9). In particular, about one-third consistently rejected both reflexive and reciprocal *se*-adjectives, about one third consistently rejected only reflexive *se*-adjectives, and the remaining speakers were not consistent on this condition altogether.

As for L2ers, individual results in the English group revealed more consistency (i.e. the group was more homogeneous) than the L1 Russian group in the productive conditions, while the situation is reverse in the passive and adjectival conditions. To this end, about one third of the Russian speakers did not consistently accept productive and ECM verbs in the reciprocal sub-condition, while most English speakers were consistently accurate on productivity (see table 8). As far as passives are concerned, only about half of the Russian speakers consistently rejected them in the reciprocal sub-condition, while most of them were consistently accurate at rejecting reflexives. This contrasts with the L1 English group where only two speakers consistently rejected reciprocal passives, and only about half of them consistently rejected reflexives (see table 9).

Lastly, similar to the case of native speakers, the performance on *se*-adjectives was the least homogeneous (see table 9). In the Russian-speaking group, only about one fourth of L2ers consistently rejected both reflexive and reciprocal *se*-adjectives, about half consistently rejected *se*-adjectives in reflexive contexts only, while the others failed to consistently reject *se*-adjectives. The individual results in the English-speaking group revealed even less consistency (see table 9).

To conclude, although all in all the group results do reflect properties of individual grammars relatively well, they still mask certain interesting patterns in the data. Thus, the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry did not affect each and every speaker but about one third in (certain) grammatical conditions and about half in (certain) ungrammatical conditions, and the effect of this asymmetry was more drastic within these subgroups of speakers, i.e. the acceptance of certain reciprocal sub-conditions was lower than what the group results suggest. On the other hand, there were subgroups of speakers with much higher acceptance of items in the

reciprocal condition than what the group results suggest. Finally, the effect of individual patterns is most evident in *se*-adjectives.

6.2.2.4 Acceptability Judgement Test: Fillers

As mentioned in chapter 5, looking into the results from certain filler items in the AJT can in principle shed some light on various issues.

Thus, the results from grammatical filler items involving reflexive and reciprocal anaphors and passives/adjectives (1-2) help establish whether participants' rejection of the ungrammatical *se*-passives and *se*-adjectives could be due to a general difficulty with (or bias against) passive and adjectival constructions in reflexive/reciprocal scenarios.

(1) a. Alain   a été recommandé à lui-même   par   la maison d'édition.
        Alain   was recommended to himself   by   the publishing house
     b. Edgar   et Arielle   ont été décrits   l'un à l'autre par   leurs parents.
        Edgar   & Arielle   were   described to each other by   their parents

(2) a. En changeant   toujours d'avis, Madeleine est infidèle   à elle-même.
        changing   always   opinion Madeleine is unfaithful to herself
     b. Grâce à leur conseiller conjugal,   Lise et Albert sont plus attentifs
        thanks to their marriage counsellor, Lise & Albert are more attentive to
        l'un à l'autre.
        each other

The data from this set of fillers suggest that participants did not in fact have any general bias against reflexive/reciprocal scenarios, see table 10 (the relevant results are shaded).

Table 10. L2ers' Passive and Adjectival Data: *Se* vs. Anaphors, Acceptance %.

	Native Controls	L2ers (L1 Russian)	L2ers (L1 English)
Refl. *se*-passives	2.6	19.7	37.5
Passives + refl. anaphors	94.7	94.7	96.8
Rec. *se*-passives	3.9	44.7	70.3
Passives + rec. anaphors	97.4	92.1	96.8
Refl. *se*-adjectives	20	25	37.5
Adjectives + refl. anaphors	84.2	97.3	93.8
Rec. *se*-adjectives	45	45	70
Adjectives + rec. anaphors	97.3	97.3	84.4

In addition, ungrammatical filler items involving *se*-reflexives with a wrong auxiliary, see (3), could potentially tap participants' knowledge of one additional context where the behavior of *se* and object clitic pronouns differ. As briefly discussed in chapter 5, transitive verbs employ the auxiliary *avoir* in certain complex tenses while *se*-intransitives employ *être*. Accordingly, if the participants generally recognized the ungrammaticality of filler items such as (3), that might suggest that their interlanguage grammars represent *se* and object clitic pronouns differently.

(3) *Jean   s'   a   rasé   avant   son   entrevue importante.
    Jean   SE   AUX shaved   before   his   important interview

Table 11 suggests that the advanced and intermediate L2ers were overall aware of the difference between *se* and object clitic pronouns as far as their auxiliary selection is concerned. (Note that although the Russian-speaking L2ers were not very accurate with these fillers, their accuracy was still clearly above chance level.)

Table 11. Acceptance (%) of Wrong Auxiliaries with *Se*-reflexives.

	Native Controls	L2ers (L1 Russian)		L2ers (L1 English)	
		Interm.	Adv.	Interm.	Adv.
**se*-verbs + *avoir*	2.6	34.4	20.5	10	9.1

Another set of ungrammatical fillers involved discontinuous *se*-reciprocals, see (4). Discontinuous reciprocals tend to be banned by languages that derive reflexive and reciprocal verbs in syntax (e.g. French; see chapter 3). Languages that derive these verbs in the lexicon normally license discontinuous reciprocals (e.g. Russian), although English behaves exceptionally in this respect. The Russian L2ers' relative accuracy on discontinuous reciprocals such as (4) could then implicate a parameter resetting scenario (see chapter 4).

(4)   *François s'   embrasse   avec Lucie   dans la vidéo de l'anniversaire.
      François SE   kiss   with Lucie   in   the anniversary video

The data in table 12 is interesting as it suggests that the advanced English-speaking L2ers accepted discontinuous reciprocals to the same extent as the advanced Russian-speaking L2ers did, although English exceptionally bans this construction. In any event, it is clear that the advanced L2ers rejected discontinuous reciprocals in French most of the time.

Table 12. Acceptance (%) of Discontinuous *Se*-reciprocals.

	Native Controls	L2ers (L1 Russian)		L2ers (L1 English)	
		Interm.	Adv.	Interm.	Adv.
*discont. *se*-reciprocals	5.3	43.8	25	20	31.8

Lastly, an additional set of fillers involved ungrammatical transitive constructions with reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, see (5-6).

(5)   a. *C'est clair pour tout le monde que Basile   aime lui-même   profondément.
            it's clear   to   everybody   that Basile loves himself   deeply

        b. *Fabien et Gérard   aident   l'un l'autre avec leurs études   à l'école.
            Fabien & Gérard   help   each other with their studies at school

(6)   a. *C'est évident que ma sœur Liliane croit   elle-même très   intelligente.
            it is   clear   that my sister Liliane believes herself   very   intellegent

        b. *À cause de leurs désaccords, Gabriel et Hélène   présument l'un l'autre
            because of their disagreement Gabriel & Hélène   assume   each other
           stupides.
            stupide

Table 13 summarizes results on each of these sub-types of fillers as they
compare to the results from the corresponding grammatical *se*-conditions.
Although data patterns are quite complex and likely require a combination of
various considerations to be taken into account, one obvious observation is that
the L2ers (the Russian-speaking L2ers, in particular) did not know that reflexive
and reciprocal pronouns cannot be used in French independently of *se*. In chapter
7, I will argue that the participants' performance on ungrammatical transitive
constructions with reflexive and reciprocal pronouns suggests relative
ineffectiveness of indirect negative evidence. This in fact contributes to the main
research question of the thesis in a roundabout fashion. The potential availability
of indirect negative evidence – along with many (other) domain-general strategies
– has often been appealed to as a 'common sense' alternative to domain-specific
accounts of adults' success on L2 properties that apparently posit the learnability
problem. To this end, a piece of evidence suggesting relative ineffectiveness of
indirect negative evidence contributes to the idea that L2 acquisition goes beyond
domain-general learning

Table 13. Acceptance (%) of *Se*-verbs vs. Transitives with Anaphors.

		Native Controls	L2ers (L1 Russian)	L2ers (L1 English)
Se-verbs	crossling. reflexives	98.7	98.7	100
	Prod. reflexives	98.7	82.9	95.3
	ECM reflexives	93.4	89.5	100
	crossling. reciprocals	100	98.7	100
	Prod. reciprocals	100	68.4	89.1
	ECM reciprocals	76.3	69.7	85.5
Transitives	crossling.+lui-même	2.6	34.2	15.6
	prod. + lui-même	2.6	84.2	53.1
	ECM + lui-même	0	57.9	16.7
	crossling.+ l'un l'autre	2.6	55.3	25
	prod. + l'un l'autre	5.3	89.5	56.3
	ECM + l'un l'autre	23.7	75.7	40.5

6.2.3 Truth Value Judgement Test

6.2.3.1 Overall Results

As far as the TVJT is concerned, certain data were discarded altogether due to one of the following reasons: a clear response bias, a consistent 'no' response in both Transitive Object Conditions (i.e. the 'no' response for at least two (out of three) stimuli), or failure to understand the task.[11, 12, 13] In addition, three L2ers

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[11] Four L2ers were discarded for a 'yes' bias in their response to both experimental items and fillers. To recap, there were twelve filler stimuli in the TVJT all of which were aimed to elicit the 'no' response. The number of target ('no') responses ranged from zero to five for the filler stimuli, and from zero to three (out of six) for the experimental stimuli among these 'yes' biased L2ers.

[12] The Transitive Object Condition is a control condition (see chapter 5). To conclude that participants' rejection of the object reading with *se* intransitives stems from the relevant knowledge, one needs to ensure that participants can accept the same type of reading with transitives, to begin with. Accordingly, if a participant consistently failed with object readings generally (as defined above), his/her data were excluded from the analysis.

were rather slow on the AJT task which did not leave enough time for them to complete the TVJT. As a result, as far as the currently instructed group is concerned, the TVJT data from only three L2ers (one English-speaking and two Russian-speaking) were available; since no inferences could be made based on such a small (and diverse) group of participants, the remaining TVJT data from the currently instructed group were not taken into consideration for the analysis. The TVJT data analyzed in this section comes from a total of 14 native controls, 12 Russian-speaking L2ers (5 rememberers, 7 forgetters) and 8 English-speaking L2ers (6 rememberers, 2 forgetters).

I first compare participants' performance on the four main conditions without distinguishing between verbs that form cross-linguistic reflexives and verbs that do not. Group mean acceptance scores (out of six) for each of these conditions are given in table 14; standard deviations are provided in parentheses.

Table 14. TVJT acceptances (out of 6), Crosslinguistic and Productive Data Collapsed.

	L1 French (controls) (n=14)	L1 English (n=8)	L1 Russian (n=12)
Intransitive Subject Condition	5.9 (0.3)	5.1 (1.1)	5.6 (0.5)
Intransitive Object Condition	2.6 (1.7)	4 (2)	2.3 (1)
Transitive Subject Condition	5.8 (0.6)	5.8 (0.5)	5.5 (0.9)
Transitive Object Condition	5.2 (0.7)	4 (1.8)	4.9 (1.2)

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[13] The data from one native speaker was totally excluded due to her failure to understand the task, somewhat random replies and explanations that did not make much sense in light of the instructions she received.

To gain an overall grasp of the TVJT data and determine the source of major differences, I conducted mixed factorial ANOVA's with number of 'yes' responses as the dependent variable, L1 group (French, Russian or English), proficiency (controls, advanced L2 or intermediate L2) and explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (rememberers or forgetters) as the grouping variables and type of construction (experimental condition) as the repeated measure. Post hoc Scheffé and Tamhane's T2 tests were not employed here since there were no significant main effects for the grouping variables (as discussed below); post hoc paired t-tests with a Bonferroni correction were run for any significant main effect for the repeated measure. To interpret interaction effects more reliably, additional ANOVA tests were subsequently run within each of the L1 groups.

A three-way repeated measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect for condition (f(1.9, 55.5)=33, p<0.000001), no effect for L1 group (f(1, 29)=0.4, p=0.5) and no effect for proficiency (f(1, 29)=0.7, p=0.4). A (weakly) significant interaction effect was found between the condition and the L1 group (f(1.9, 55.5)=3.9, p<0.05). Another ANOVA run with explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (rather than proficiency) as an additional grouping variable produced similar results, and in particular, no effect for explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge (f(1, 29)=0.7, p=0.8) and no interaction effects involving the explicit *se* misanalysis knowledge factor.

As far as the significant main effect for condition is concerned, paired t-tests revealed that the overall differences in the participants' performance on the Intransitive Subject versus the Intransitive Object Conditions were statistically significant (p<0.00005); the 'yes' response was provided more often in the former condition than in the latter. The participants' low rate of the 'yes' response in the Intransitive Object Condition was not due to the low acceptance of object readings more generally as the overall differences in the participants' performance on the Transitive Object versus the Intransitive Object Conditions were also statistically significant (p<0.0001), i.e. the object reading was accepted more often with transitive verbs than with *se* intransitives. The differences in the performance on the Intransitive Subject versus the Transitive Subject Conditions

were not significant (p=1), as expected. However, the differences in the performance on the Transitive Subject versus the Transitive Object Conditions were overall statistically significant, although this significance was not very strong (p=0.02) and was merely cumulative (when each L1 group was checked separately, the difference in the performance on these two types of conditions never reached significance, see table 15).

To interpret the revealed interaction effect (between the condition and the L1), additional repeated measures ANOVA tests were run within each L1 group. As a result, a significant main effect for condition was found in the control group (f(1.6, 20.6)=32.9, p<0.000005), in the Russian-speaking group (f(3, 33)=40.6, p<0.000001), and only marginally in the English-speaking group (f(3, 21)=3.3, p<0.05). The results of paired t-tests are summarized in table 15; in fact, these tests did not reveal any statistical differences in the English-speaking group. To take stock, Russian-speaking L2ers observed exactly the same relevant contrasts as the control group, while the English-speaking group did not.

Table 15. TVJT Statistics, Cross-linguistic and Productive Data Collapsed.

	L1 French (n=14)	L1 English (n=8)	L1 Russian (n=12)
Intrans. Subj. vs. Intrans. Obj.	Significant (p<0.0005)	Non-significant (p=1)	Significant (p<0.000005)
Trans. Obj. vs. Intrans. Obj.	Significant (p<0.0005)	Non-significant (p=1)	Significant (p<0.00005)
Trans. Subj. vs. Intrans. Subj.	Non-significant (p=1)	Non-significant (p=0.8)	Non-significant (p=1)
Trans. Subj. vs. Trans. Obj.	Non-significant (p=0.4)	Non-significant (p=0.2)	Non-significant (p=1)

Recall now that the following six verbs were used to construct the experimental TVJT items: *se raser* 'shave(refl/rec)', *s'habiller* 'dress(refl/rec)', *se laver* 'wash(refl/rec)', *se détester* 'hate (refl/rec)', *s'aimer* 'love(refl/rec)' and *se*

dessiner 'draw(refl/rec)'. Each of these verbs was presented in a reflexive context only; the first three verbs belong to the crosslinguistic set of (grooming) reflexives, while the other three verbs belong to the productive set of verbs. To check if the performance on verbs that derive crosslinguistic reflexives was different from the performance on verbs that derive productive reflexives in French, an additional repeated measures ANOVA test was run with eight rather then four levels for the repeated measure; in other words, each of the four main conditions was now treated as including two subconditions (crosslinguistic and productive). Group mean acceptance scores (out of three) for each of the eight conditions are presented in table 16; standard deviations are provided in parentheses.

Table 16. TVJT acceptances (out of 3), Cross-linguistic vs. Productive Data.

		L1 French (controls) (n=14)	L1 English (n=8)	L1 Russian (n=12)
Crossling.	Intransitive Subject Condition	3 (0)	3 (0)	3 (0)
	Intransitive Object Condition	0.9 (0.9)	1.8 (1.2)	0.7 (0.8)
	Transitive Subject Condition	2.9 (0.3)	3 (0)	2.9 (0.4)
	Transitive Object Condition	2.4 (0.7)	1.9 (1.1)	2.4 (0.9)
Product.	Intransitive Subject Condition	2.9 (0.3)	2.1 (1.2)	2.6 (0.5)
	Intransitive Object Condition	1.8 (1.2)	2.3 (1.2)	1.7 (0.8)
	Transitive Subject Condition	2.9 (0.4)	2.8 (0.5)	2.7 (0.7)
	Transitive Object Condition	2.8 (0.4)	2.1 (1.1)	2.6 (0.5)

The ANOVA test revealed a significant main effect for condition ($f(4.3, 131.8)=28.6$, $p<0.000001$), no effect for L1 group ($f(2, 31)=0.7$, $p=0.5$) and a significant interaction effect between the condition and the L1 group ($f(8.5, 131.8)=2.3$, $p<0.05$).

Comparing participants' performance on the two types of verbs across each of the four main conditions, paired t-tests detected statistically significant differences in the two intransitive conditions ($p<0.05$), with the acceptance in the crosslinguistic set being higher in the Intransitive Subject Condition and lower in the Intransitive Object Condition. However, a supplemental repeated measures ANOVA run within each L1 group separately showed that this difference in the performance did not in fact achieve significance in any of the L1 groups.

Comparing the participants' performance on the four main conditions for the crosslinguistic and productive sets separately, paired t-tests revealed that while the results for the crosslinguistic set displayed roughly the same statistically significant contrasts as the results where the two types of verbs were collapsed, the results for the productive set displayed no statistically significant contrasts. In other words, the statistically significant contrasts observed for the collapsed results were mostly due to the contrasts observed in the crosslinguistic set data. To elaborate, in the crosslinguistic set, the 'yes' response was provided less often in the Intransitive Object Condition than in the Intransitive Subject Condition ($p<0.000001$) and in the Transitive Object Condition ($p=0.00005$). In addition, the differences in the performance on the Intransitive Subject versus Transitive Subject Conditions were still not significant ($p=1$), while the differences in the performance on the Transitive Subject versus Transitive Object Conditions were again statistically significant ($p<0.01$). The same statistically significant contrasts held within the control group and the Russian-speaking group of L2ers, while the English-speaking L2ers did not observe any of the contrasts even in the crosslinguistic data.

To summarize the main points of the TVJT results, no group observed any contrasts with productive verbs. As far as the set of crosslinguistic verbs is concerned, the Russian-speaking L2ers performed similarly to the native controls,

treating *se*-intransitives in the Object Condition differently from both transitives in the Object Condition and *se*-intransitives in the Subject Condition. In other words, these two groups of participants accepted the object reading for *se*-verbs significantly less often than for true transitive verbs and they accepted the object reading for *se* verbs significantly less often than the subject reading. The performance of the English-speaking L2ers in this task differed in that they treated all types of verbs similarly in all conditions, observing no relevant contrasts.

6.2.3.2 Truth Value Judgement Test: Individual Results

In this section, I will look into individual data to get an idea as to how many participants observed the relevant contrasts reliably, which I define as consistent rejection of the object reading with *se*-intransitives and consistent acceptance of the subject reading with *se*-intransitives and the object reading with transitives. Here, I define consistency as two or three acceptances or rejections (out of three).

The individual data from native speakers are presented in table 17. 11 out of the 14 native speakers (78.6%) whose TVJT data were analyzed appeared to reliably observe the relevant contrasts in at least one of the two sets of verbs. Four speakers (28.6%) observed these contrast reliably in both sets of verbs; four speakers (28.6%) observed this contrast reliably only in the crosslinguistic set; three speakers (21.4%) observed them reliably only in the productive set.

Table 17. Consistent Target Response for TVJT, Native Speakers (n=14).

	IntrS Cross.	IntrO Cross.	TransS Cross.	TransO Cross.	IntrS Prod.	IntrO Prod.	TransS Prod.	Trans O Prod.
NS2	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS4	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
NS5	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
NS6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NS7	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS8	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NS11	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS12	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS15	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NS16	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS17	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
NS18	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
NS19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

The individual data from the Russian-speaking L2ers are presented in table 18. Looking at the relevant contrasts, 11 out of 12 Russian-speaking L2ers observed them reliably in at least one of the two sets of verbs. No Russian-speaking L2er observed them reliably in both sets of verbs; seven speakers (58.3%) observed them reliably only in the crosslinguistic set; four speakers (33.3%) observed the relevant contrasts reliably only in the productive set.

Table 18. Consistent Target Response for TVJT, Russian-speaking L2ers (n=12).

RUS	IntrS Cross.	IntrO Cross.	Tr.S Cross.	Tr.O Cross.	IntrS Prod.	IntrO Prod.	Tr.S Prod.	Tr.O Prod.
R2	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
R4	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
R5	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
R9	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
R19	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
R8	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
R11	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
R13	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
R15	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
R16	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
R17	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
R18	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

The individual data from English-speaking L2ers are presented in table 19. Only two English-speaking L2ers (25%) reliably observed the relevant contrasts in one of the two sets of verbs; no speaker observed them in both sets of verbs.

Table 19. Consistent Target Response for TVJT, English-speaking L2ers (n=8).

Engl	IntrS Cross.	IntrO Cross.	Tr.S Cross.	Tr.O Cross.	IntrS Prod.	IntrO Prod.	Tr.S Prod.	Tr.O Prod.
E7	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
E11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
E12	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
E17	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
E5	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
E9	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
E16	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
E18	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-

To conclude, the TVJT group results reflect properties of individual grammars quite well. At the same time, the individual data analysis revealed that a few native speakers and the Russian-speaking L2ers observed the relevant contrasts reliably with productive verbs, although the group data analysis of these verbs showed no relevant contrasts, statistically. Moreover, despite the overall statistical similarity between the performance of the control group and the Russian-speaking L2ers, they differed in that about one third of the controls observed the relevant contrast in both sets of verbs, while no L2er did.

6.3 Summary of Results

To summarize the main results of the statistical analysis, all participants observed the relevant native-like distinction between *se* and true object pronouns, at least some of the time. Starting with the AJT, all subjects were quite accurate on the productivity conditions (productive verbs and ECMs). In passives, the controls and the Russian-speaking group of L2ers behaved as expected, while the English-

speaking L2ers distinguished only between the reflexive *se* and clitic pronouns. As far as the split of forgetters vs. rememberers is concerned, while the rememberers observed the same contrasts as the control group, those who did not remember the misleading classroom generalization regarding the pronominal status of *se* observed the native-like distinction in fewer AJT conditions, distinguishing again only between the reflexive *se* and clitic pronouns. In adjectives, while the native controls observed all the relevant contrasts, as expected, the L2ers distinguished only between the reflexive *se* and clitic pronouns (both language groups). Comparing forgetters with rememberers on this condition, the rememberers distinguished only between the reflexive *se* and clitic pronouns, while the forgetters failed to make any relevant distinctions, with no difference between the two L2 groups. Note that since the rememberers fell into the advanced group, while the forgetters were mostly intermediates, all results reported for the rememberers are also true of the group of advanced L2ers, and all results reported for the forgetters also hold of the intermediate group. All participants were more accurate on reflexives than on reciprocals, although this asymmetry affected each group somewhat differently. Finally, there was no difference between the performance of the currently instructed and the currently uninstructed L2 speakers.

In the TVJT, no group observed any contrasts with productive verbs. As far as crosslinguistic verbs are concerned, the Russian-speaking L2ers performed similarly to the native controls, accepting the object reading for *se*-verbs significantly less often than for true transitive verbs and they accepted the object reading for *se* verbs significantly less often than the subject reading. The English-speaking L2ers observed no relevant contrasts.

Based on the examination of individual results, the group results reflect properties of individual grammars relatively well, in both tasks.

7. Discussion

7.1 Accounting for the Results

7.1.1 Overcoming the Misanalysis of *se* as a Pronoun in L2 French: Mission Possible

Although some of the results reported in chapter 6 might seem puzzling at first and will be discussed in some detail further in this chapter, I argue that the most important finding is that L2 learners from both L1 backgrounds observed the relevant native-like distinction between *se* and true object pronouns, at least some of the time. Strikingly, those L2ers who remembered the misleading classroom generalization regarding the pronominal status of *se* (based on the *se* questionnaire) observed the native-like distinction in more conditions than those L2ers who did not recall the classroom misanalysis.[1] Moreover, there was no difference between the performance of currently instructed and currently uninstructed L2ers although the intervention session could in principle have resulted in a higher acceptance rate of *se* with adjectives and passives in participants who were recently exposed to the pronominal view on *se*.[2] I thus conclude that learners' failure to internalize superficially logical but linguistically false generalizations suggests that adult language acquirers still employ language specific learning mechanisms, and are sensitive to subtle linguistic cues. Adult L2 acquisition might then not be as radically different from child L1 acquisition as sometimes claimed (Bley-Vroman 1989, 1990; Clahsen & Muysken 1986, Meisel 1997).

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[1] The rememberers observed the relevant (*se* vs. true pronouns) contrast in both passive subconditions and with the reflexive *se* in the adjectival construction, while the forgetters made the relevant distinction only with the reflexive *se* in passives.

[2] The comparison of currently instructed vs. currently uninstructed learners draws on advanced English-speaking L2 learners only because only two Russian speakers were involved in FSL instruction at the time of testing and the group of currently instructed L2ers fell into the advanced group, mostly.

As discussed in chapter 5, the task of L2 learners is not just to override the misleading classroom instruction, but also to somehow avoid employing certain domain-general strategies that could encourage the pronominal analysis of *se* promoted in the classroom. Thus, superficial observation of the target L2 input may suggest that *se* and pronominal clitics behave similarly; for example, both *se* and pronominal clitics productively attach to verbs. Furthermore, Russian- and English-speaking French L2ers may rely on L1/L2 pattern matching. Given that Russian and English anaphors and the French *se* share certain noticeable properties, e.g. productivity, such pattern matching could easily lead learners to the pronominal misanalysis, if language specific learning mechanisms and subtle linguistic cues were not available to L2 learners. Importantly, the overall high accuracy on the productivity conditions in the AJT task suggests that the L2ers in the study were well aware of the productivity property of the French *se*, but still did not treat *se* as a pronoun, which supports the main conclusion.

Before turning to some seemingly problematic aspects of the results (sections 7.1.2 through 7.1.6), I will briefly address the question as to why rememberers outperformed the forgetters on rejecting the *se* misanalysis in the experimental tasks. Since this may seem counterintuitive, I will briefly speculate on what likely explains this difference in performance. In the present study, the rememberers were mostly advanced learners, while the forgetters fell into the intermediate group.[3] A higher language proficiency implies more naturalistic exposure and more experience with the target L2 which should result in a more native-like performance on the experimental tasks. If explicit rules cannot truly affect implicit linguistic competence, remembering vs. forgetting the classroom rule is in fact irrelevant and it is proficiency that matters.

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[3] While this could in principle be a coincidence, it likely reflects a more general tendency. First, advanced L2ers tend to have more classroom exposure than intermediate learners, overall. Second, many advanced L2ers are motivated learners who strive to gain experience with the target L2, but also work hard in the classroom and are likely to review textbooks and grammar rules on their own. In other words, it is likely that more advanced L2ers have a better recollection of the classroom generalization than less advanced learners, more generally.

7.1.2 Accounting for the Reflexive/Reciprocal Asymmetry in the Results

Quite unexpectedly, all participants, including the native controls, were more accurate on reflexives than on reciprocals in the AJT, although this asymmetry affected each group somewhat differently. In grammatical items, acceptance of productive and ECM reciprocals was generally degraded, while acceptance of *se*-adjectives and ungrammatical reciprocal *se*-passives was increased as compared to the acceptance of reflexive *se*-adjectives and *se*-passives. While it is imperative to investigate this finding in further detail, I will try to present a tentative explanation of this effect in the present section.

In a nutshell, I believe that the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry – or more precisely, the problem with the reciprocal items in the AJT – is due to the ambiguity of plural *se*-verbs between the reflexive and reciprocal reading, see (1). Note that all reflexive items in the task involved singular forms, which are unambiguous, see (2), while all reciprocal items naturally involved plurals.

(1)   Ils   se détestent.
      they   refl/rec.hate
      'They hate themselves/each other.'

(2)   Il   se déteste.
      he   refl/rec.hate
      'He hates himself.'

Why would the ambiguity observed with *se* decrease the acceptability of grammatical sentences and increase the acceptability of ungrammatical ones? First of all, judgments of ambiguous sentences involve – in principle – judging two rather than one structure or representation. When an ambiguous sentence, which is grammatical in isolation, needs to be judged in a context that favors one of the readings, one of the two possible representations will be deemed natural or acceptable, while the second representation will not. As a result, if the speaker is indeed aware of the ambiguity, s/he might be reasonably confused as to which of

the judgments to supply, resulting in overall decreased acceptability of a grammatical ambiguous sentence.

On the other hand, consider an ungrammatical sentence that involves potential ambiguity, presented in a context that favors one of the readings. Speakers might judge such sentences as relatively acceptable in that reading, in particular if they are aware of the ambiguity and acknowledge that the representation corresponding to the second reading is not just ungrammatical but also does not match the context. If this is on the right track then we may indeed expect increased acceptability of ungrammatical sentences involving ambiguity, in particular in a contextualized task.

This interpretation of the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry in the results is supported by a number of considerations. First, Belikova's (2008a, b) pilot study – discussed in detail in chapter 4 – involved a similar AJT design but only reciprocal *se*-verbs. Interestingly, the acceptance rates of productive verbs and *se*-passives in that study look more similar to the acceptance rates of reflexives, see table 1 below.[4] If it is true that ambiguity may influence acceptability as hypothesized above then Belikova's (2008a, b) participants were less likely to be affected by the ambiguity of *se* since all the items focused on the reciprocal reading.

Table 1. L2ers' results (acceptance %): Belikova (2008a, b) vs. Belikova (2013).

	Belikova (2008a, b) n=13	Belikova (2013) n=19	
	reciprocals	reflexives	reciprocals
Productive verbs	90.8	83	68.5
Se-passives	28.9	17.5	42.5

Second, recall that participants were always asked to correct sentences they deemed unacceptable (or at least comment on what they thought went wrong in these sentences). In the present study, quite a few participants who rejected

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[4] Belikova (2008a, b) involved only Russian-speaking learners of French.

sentences with plural *se*-verbs noted that they did not readily perceive them as reciprocal but rather as reflexive; the correction then involved adding the reciprocal anaphor *l'un l'autre* 'each other' or adverbs such as *mutuellement* 'mutually', which rendered these sentences unambiguously reciprocal. Participants in Belikova's (2008a, b) did not invoke this type of correction.

Finally, there has been some research on how processing difficulties related to ambiguity may affect judgements of acceptability. This research deals with local ambiguities different from the reflexive/reciprocal ambiguity discussed here, but it may still viewed as supporting the interpretation of the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry I have proposed above. In particular, in Arnold et al. (2004) speakers dispreferred temporary PP-attachment ambiguities in a forced-choice preference judgment study involving grammatical sentences. In other words, sentences such as (3b) were preferred over sentences such as (3a) where the prepositional phrase 'to Terry' could in principle modify either the verb or the object, with the ambiguity resolved once the second prepositional phrase is introduced. This is a case of local ambiguity but it is reasonable to hypothesize that global ambiguity could have a similar effect, resulting in lower acceptance rates of grammatical ambiguous sentences.

(3) a. The teacher read Andy's note to Terry to the entire English class.

   b. The teacher read Andy's note about Terry to the entire English class.

On the other hand, in Fanselow & Frisch (2006) local ambiguities increased the acceptability of ultimately ungrammatical sentences, i.e. sentences whose parsing involved an intermediate analysis where the representation was grammatical. Thus, German discontinuous noun phrases are only grammatical with plural nouns; however, certain nouns are ambiguous with respect to number, so we only know whether or not the sentence is grammatical when we hit the sentence-final disambiguating determiner, unless there are other hints, e.g. a prenominal adjective, see (4). At the same time, the parser will always assign grammatical representations if possible. As a result, (4a) and (4b) are perceived as outright

grammatical, while (4c) is outright ungrammatical. Interestingly, although (4d) is ungrammatical, too, local ambiguity affects its acceptability eliciting a higher acceptance rate than for (4c). Again, this is a type of local ambiguity, which is quite different from the one discussed in relation to the current study, but it is possible that global ambiguity has a similar effect, resulting in higher acceptance rates of ungrammatical ambiguous sentences.

(4)a. [Rote   Koffer   hatte er   leider]   keine
     red.pl suitcase.sg/pl   had he   unfortunately   no.pl

   b. [Koffer   hatte er leider]   keine
     suitcase.sg/pl had   he unfortunately no.pl

   c. *[Roten Koffer   hatte er   leider]   keinen
      red.sg suitcase.sg/pl   had he   unfortunately   no.sg

   d. *(?) [Koffer   hatte er   leider]   keinen
       suitcase.sg/pl had he   unfortunately   no.sg

To summarize, I conclude that the reflexive/reciprocal ambiguity observed with plural *se*-verbs (in the reciprocal condition) has the effect of decreasing the acceptability of grammatical sentences and increasing the acceptability of ungrammatical ones, as compared to the acceptability rates of unambiguous items involving singular *se*-verbs (in the reflexive condition). Whether or not ambiguity is truly responsible for the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry in a contextualized AJT task needs to be investigated further in a study that explores the issue in its own right.

7.1.3 Accounting for Differences in Results of Russian- and English-Speaking French L2ers

Despite the conclusion that L2 learners from both L1 backgrounds distinguished between *se* and true object pronouns some of the time, it is puzzling that the English group observed an overall weaker contrast between the two types of clitics than the Russian group. Focusing only on statistically significant differences, in the AJT,

while the Russian-speaking learners of French observed the relevant contrast in both passive subconditions, i.e. with both the reflexive and the reciprocal *se*, the English group made the relevant distinction in the reflexive subcondition only. In the TVJT, while the Russian group observed the relevant distinction with crosslinguistic verbs, the English group failed to observe any of the relevant contrasts. This difference in the performance on the two experimental tasks raises the question of whether English speakers are more susceptible to the classroom misanalysis of *se* than Russian speakers. It would be quite surprising and counterintuitive if this were the case. In this section, I will argue that the difference in the performance of Russian and English speakers can be accounted for with Yang's (2002, 2006) Variational Learning (VL) model and Schwartz and Sprouse's (1996) Full Transfer/Full Access (FTFA) hypothesis.

The VL model provides a reasonable explanation of variability in judgments and production. Under this model, initially proposed for L1 acquisition, the learner's linguistic competence and language acquisition are modeled as a competition among co-existing UG-constrained grammars whose probability increases or decreases based on whether these grammars can successfully account for each given piece of the linguistic input (i.e. sentences in the target language) that the learner faces. In other words, when a new piece of input is considered, one of the competing grammars will be selected with a particular probability. If the selected grammar can parse this piece of input successfully, its probability of being chosen in the future increases; if the selected grammar fails, its probability is decreased. While in the case of L1 acquisition, all competing grammars have equal probability initially, it is the L1 grammar that has the highest probability in L2ers in the beginning, assuming that 'full transfer' characterises interlanguage grammars initially (e.g. Schwartz & Sprouse 1996; see also Slabakova 2008). Since the L1-based grammar will fail to parse (some of the) L2 input, its probability will gradually decrease, while the probability of more target-like grammars will gradually increase (cf. a more traditional view where the interlanguage grammar undergoes a series of restructurings triggered by failures to parse L2 input conservatively). According to the VL model, restructuring is a continuous process

whose pace depends on the robustness of evidence. Even when the weight of an L1-based grammar is relatively low (in advanced language learners), L2ers can occasionally resort to it and display linguistic behaviour which can be labelled as 'residual transfer'. Residual transfer can then be thought of as non-target performance in an L2 which is due to L1 influence and which affects performance only some of the time depending on the current probability of the L1 grammar selection, resulting in a degree of variability in judgments and production. To conclude, both the rise of the target grammar and the disappearance of the non-target grammar are gradual (Slabakova 2008, amongst others) and this is reflected in learners' judgments and production as variability.

I will now consider Russian- and English-speaking French L2ers' acquisition of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in this context. Since both languages have reflexive and reciprocal verbs, L2ers from both L1 backgrounds should start out with a high probability for grammars of French that have these types of verbs. At the same time, Russian speakers should have a higher probability for overt morphology, while English speakers should have a higher probability for null morphology. As a result, Russian speakers are likely to correctly analyze transitive forms such as *habiller* 'dress (someone)' as transitive, and intransitive forms such as *s'habiller* 'dress (oneself)' as intransitive (reflexive), from very early on. On the other hand, English speakers are more likely to start out analyzing *habiller* 'dress (someone)' as either transitive or intransitive, assuming null reflexive morphology, and *s'habiller* 'dress (oneself)' as transitive constructions where *se* is a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun. In other words, unlike the classroom instruction which misrepresents French as a language without reflexive and reciprocal verbs and *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, the initial state of English-based interlanguage grammar of French misanalyzes *se* as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun but does involve reflexive and reciprocal verbs.

Acquisition of reflexive/reciprocal morphology is thus affected by L1 transfer, which is supported by some of the findings reported in Miličević (2007) and Montrul (1997, 2000) discussed in chapter 4. [5]

Importantly, linguistic input in (5) is not compatible with grammars where *se* is a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, hence the probability of the English-based grammar of French will decrease eventually. However, given the same amount of exposure to French and comparable proficiency, the probability of the English-based grammar will always be higher for English speakers, due to residual transfer. This means that – upon closer consideration – it is not in fact surprising that we find a sharper contrast between *se* and true object pronouns in the Russian speakers' results than in the results of the English-speaking learners of French.

(5)   **Unaccusatives:** *se casser* 'break'
       Subject-experiencing verbs: *s'ennuyer* 'get bored'
       Middles: *(bien) se vendre* '(easily/well) sell'

7.1.4 Accounting for Differences in Results of Native Speakers and L2ers

L2ers' data often involve a noticeable degree of variability. In the present study, the L2ers are less accurate than the native controls on a range of experimental conditions. On the other hand, across multiple L2 studies, including the present work, results recognized as most relevant are those showing whether native-like contrasts are observed in the L2 data (e.g. *se* vs. true object pronouns), rather than those showing whether L2ers' accuracy on specific experimental conditions is similar to what is observed in native speakers.

In addition to the variability in judgments that results from competing grammars (under the VL model) and which is a competence issue, some of the variability is

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[5] Previous research suggests that native speakers of English indeed transfer null morphology in their L2s, at least initially. In Miličević (2007) and Montrul (1997, 2000), native English speakers accept (to a greater extent than Serbian and Turkish speakers, respectively) transitive verbs (i.e. no *se* morphology) in reflexive/reciprocal (L2 Italian) and unaccusative (L2 Spanish) contexts, respectively. See chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of these findings.

due to performance factors, i.e. 'noisy' data. Indeed, performance at 100% accuracy is unusual in any experiment, even in native speaker results (White 2003, amongst others). Noisy data can be due to tiredness, lack of focus, random distracting factors which may affect participants' performance at various points during the experiment. Moreover, although participants are instructed to rely on their intuitions, they may still resort to problem solving strategies, at least some of the time.

To this end, it is important to understand that experimental tasks are more demanding when completed in an L2. In particular, with regards to problem-solving strategies, it has been argued that Learned Linguistic Knowledge/Problem-Solving Cognitive System may potentially block language competence in L2 learners, especially under unnatural circumstances (e.g. classroom settings, including exams and written exercises; experimental settings) (Felix 1985, Schwartz 1993). As a result, we should indeed allow for elevated rates of 'noise' in L2 (experimental) data. This has been in fact an implicit practice, most notably, since Martohardjono (1993): as mentioned above, L2 researchers seem to be more interested in whether or not they can detect native-like patterns in L2ers and they focus less on whether acceptance or rejection rates in the data of native controls and L2ers are the same.

7.1.5 A Final Note on 'Unexpected' Differences in the Results

We are now in a position to explain most of the differences in the results that look puzzling at first.

In passives, the English-speaking L2ers and the intermediate L2ers' (as a group, i.e. both Russian- and English-speaking) distinguished between the reflexive *se* and clitic pronouns but not between the reciprocal *se* and clitic pronouns.[6] All other groups of participants observed all the relevant contrasts in passive constructions. To understand these differences, consider the following. On the one hand, ungrammatical reciprocals display an overall increased acceptability

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[6] The data analysis in chapter 6 distinguishes between Russian- and English-speaking L2ers (across the two proficiency levels), on the one hand, and advanced and intermediate L2ers (across the two L1 groups), on the other hand.

in all groups of participants, which results in a weaker contrast between the reciprocal *se* and clitic pronouns. On the other hand, English speakers (due to residual transfer) and intermediate L2ers (due to lower proficiency) are expected to observe a weaker contrast between *se* and clitic pronouns. As a result, while all the relevant contrasts are still robust enough to achieve statistical difference in the Russian speakers and the advanced L2ers, the difference between the reciprocal *se* and clitic pronouns is less pronounced in the data of the English speakers and the intermediate L2ers and it does not turn out to be statistically significant.

Unlike *se*-passives which are outright ungrammatical, the status of *se* in constructions involving adjectives with dative arguments and in comparative ellipsis constructions is somewhat murky. *Se*-adjectives are ungrammatical if their arguments are generated as adjuncts rather than as complements, but speakers may in principle entertain either option in each given case. The object reading in comparative ellipsis constructions involving *se*-verbs is a grammatical option, but it is dispreferred due to the lack of syntactic parallelism (chapter 3). It is then important to keep in mind that we expect variable judgements in these two types of constructions to begin with (even in native speakers, as a baseline) although we also still expect to observe an overall difference in judgements pertaining to *se* vs. true object pronouns. Starting with adjectives, while the native controls observed all the relevant contrasts, as expected, the advanced L2ers distinguished only between the reflexive *se* and clitic pronouns, while the intermediates failed to make any relevant distinctions. To explain these differences, in the control group, although the contrasts observed in the adjectival construction are somewhat weaker than in passives, they are still sharp enough and therefore achieve statistical significance in both the reflexive and reciprocal subconditions. On the other hand, the L2ers' data are overall expected to display an even greater variability, so when this factor is combined with the increased acceptability of ungrammatical reciprocals, it ultimately blurs the contrast between the reciprocal *se* and clitic pronouns in the statistical analysis of the results.[7]

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[7] In addition, the acceptability of the grammatical control condition where adjectives are accompanied by clitic pronouns was lower than expected in all groups of participants, for reasons

Finally, in the comparative ellipsis construction, we expect the rate of acceptance for the object reading with *se*-verbs to be lower than for the subject reading with *se*-verbs and the object reading with transitives. This prediction is borne out in the groups of native controls and Russian-speaking L2ers, while the English group failed to observe any of the relevant contrasts. Again, the difference between the two L2 groups is explained, if we accept that residual transfer in the case of the English speakers could be the factor that blurs contrasts that were not particularly sharp to begin with.[8]

7.1.6 Relative Ineffectiveness of Indirect Negative Evidence

In this section, I would like to briefly discuss results from a set of fillers which can be used post-hoc to make an interesting point regarding indirect negative evidence. Much L2 research has shown that adults succeed in acquiring certain subtle L2 properties, including knowledge of what constructions are ungrammatical (e.g. see White (2003) for an overview). As many studies have examined L2 properties that are uninstructed, explanations appealing to only *direct* negative evidence can be dismissed. However, it is possible that another kind of negative evidence is operative: *indirect* negative evidence, i.e. since certain constructions do not occur in the L2 input, learners can arguably infer that such constructions are ungrammatical (e.g. Plough 1995). The question is, however, whether L2ers actually end up effectively using indirect negative evidence. Results from a set of

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that are not entirely clear. This also plays a role in blurring the contrast between *se* and clitic pronouns in the adjectival conditions.

[8] It could be a task effect that participants did not invoke syntactic parallelism as much as expected, resulting in an overall higher acceptance rate of the object reading with *se*-verbs. For example, the task involved twice as many items with *me* (n = 24), an object clitic pronoun, as with *se* (n = 12), which could bias participants towards the object reading more generally.

The relevant distinctions were only significant for crosslinguistic verbs. Crosslinguistic reflexives are also sometimes referred to as verbs that are frequently or commonly reflexive (Haspelmath 2008), i.e. they refer to actions that are often performed to oneself (washing, dressing, shaving), while productive verbs do not. This could partially explain why the results differ for the two groups of verbs.

fillers in the present study, namely, fillers that involve ungrammatical transitives with anaphors, shed some light on this issue. As mentioned, while data patterns from fillers are quite complex and require a combination of various considerations to be taken into account, one obvious observation is that L2ers do not seem to know that reflexive and reciprocal anaphors cannot be used in French independently of *se*. Since the Russian L2ers' results on reflexive fillers illustrate this point most straightforwardly, I will only discuss this subset of fillers' results here.

To briefly summarize what is relevant, recall that French reflexive verbs are derived with the clitic *se*, which productively attaches to most transitive verbs (e.g. *il se lave* 'he washes(refl)', *il se dessine* 'he draws(refl)', etc.) and functions as a detransitivity marker rather than a reflexive pronoun. The actual reflexive pronoun *lui-même* 'himself' is not used independently of *se* (e.g. **il lave lui-même*, **il dessine lui-même*), with rare exceptions. Regarding the input that French L2 learners are exposed to, intransitive *se*-verbs are productively used, while transitives with anaphors do not occur in reflexive contexts. In contrast, reflexive verb formation in Russian (L2ers' L1) with the suffix *-sja* is less productive than French (e.g. *on moet-sja* 'he washes(refl)', but **on risuet-sja* 'he draws(refl)'); instead, combining transitives with anaphors is often the only way to express reflexivity (e.g. *on risuet sebja* 'he draws(trans) himself'). Assuming full transfer, L2ers initially hypothesize a restricted set of *se*-reflexives and allow transitives with anaphors; positive evidence should help partially overcome L1 transfer, resulting in acquisition of the productivity of *se*. If indirect negative evidence is operative in adult L2 acquisition, the prediction is that advanced L2ers should also reject transitives with anaphors in reflexive contexts. Alternatively, if indirect negative evidence is largely ineffective, L2 learners might fail at rejecting the ungrammatical construction. The relevant results are repeated in table 1.

Table 1. Acceptance (%) of Reflexive *se*-verbs vs. transitives with reflexive anaphors.

		Native Controls	L2ers (L1 Russian)
Se-verbs	crossling. reflexives	98.7	98.7
	Prod. reflexives	98.7	82.9
Transitives	crossling.+lui-même	2.6	34.2
	prod. + lui-même	2.6	84.2

Both productive and crosslinguistic reflexive *se*-verbs were correctly accepted by the L2ers, although *se*-verbs that also exist in Russian were slightly more readily accepted than those that do not, due to residual transfer. However, the L2ers' acceptance of ungrammatical transitive constructions with anaphors was also high, especially in the case of productive verbs: indeed, the L2ers' rate of acceptance of these verbs with *se* (gramamtical) and *lui-même* (ungrammatical) is the same. This is a clear L1 effect; however, given that such constructions are not found in French, indirect negative evidence should have overridden it almost entirely had this type of evidence been indeed relatively effective.

To summarize, the L2ers in the study acquired the productivity of *se* reflexives, suggesting that positive evidence is effective. However, the ungrammaticality of transitives with anaphors was generally not acquired, suggesting the relative ineffectiveness of indirect negative evidence. This conclusion might seem at odds with research showing that L2ers do often acquire subtle ungrammaticalities in the target language. I would like to suggest that acquisition of subtle ungrammaticality takes place only when a particular ungrammatical construction is incompatible with the rest of the interlanguage grammar, UG-wise. Ungrammatical constructions that are otherwise compatible with the rest of the interlanguage grammar will not be rejected even by advanced L2ers. Crucially, there exist languages that allow both transitives with anaphors and productive reflexives (e.g. Serbian), so the interlanguage grammar of the L2ers in the study falls within the range of natural languages.

As mentioned earlier, this evidence against the effectiveness of indirect negative evidence contributes to the main research question of the thesis. The potential availability of indirect negative evidence – along with many (other) domain-general strategies – has often been appealed to as a 'common sense' alternative to domain-specific accounts of adult success. Data suggesting relative ineffectiveness of indirect negative evidence reinforces the idea that L2 acquisition must go beyond domain-general learning

7.2   Implications, Limitations and Directions for Further Research

The most important finding of my dissertation is that, despite classroom instruction, learners made an important and subtle native-like distinction. This finding has implications for both the theory of L2 acquisition and for L2 teaching. First, resistance to superficially logical but linguistically misleading generalizations regarding the target L2 suggests that adult L2 acquisition goes beyond problem solving strategies. Second, my work suggests that foreign language curricula need to revise generalizations and rules that are linguistically inappropriate. This will ensure that learners' progress is not hindered by apparent competition between explicit instruction and implicit learning mechanisms.

Some other implications are discussed below. Thus, as mentioned, data from a subset of fillers suggests relative ineffectiveness of indirect negative evidence, but this needs to be investigated further with studies that will look into this issue specifically and examine scenarios where L2ers acquire ungrammaticalities vs. scenarios where they fail to do so. Moreover, the reflexive/reciprocal asymmetry in the results suggests that ambiguity has an interesting effect on (contextualized) acceptability judgements: it increases the acceptability of certain ungrammatical sentences and decreases the acceptability of certain grammatical ones. Further investigation of this phenomenon will help define specific conditions under which this effect is observed.

The current study also has important implications for L2 methodology. Some researchers have argued that acceptability judgements might be too introspective and hence should not be used to make inferences about linguistic competence

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(Bever (1970), amongst others; see Tremblay (2005) for an overview). My study contributes to this debate by clearly showing that acceptability judgements can in fact provide a fairly implicit methodology. Indeed, if acceptability judgements were part of a general non-linguistic cognitive system, there would not be a discrepancy between the AJT where the participants distinguished between *se* and true pronominal clitics and the explicit *se* questionnaire where the same participants indicated that *se* was an object pronoun.

Lastly, the present research has a number of implications for the linguistic theory. Although much of the theoretical account worked out in detail in chapter 3 is orthogonal to the experimental part of the thesis, it contributes to our understanding of how the underlying phenomena should be captured. Assuming that my account of reflexive/reciprocal derivations in the S-syntax/L-syntax approach is superior to the one developed within the Lexicon/Syntax parameter framework, this thesis provides additional support to the former approach. This thesis is also the first work that discusses the murky grammaticality status of *se*-adjectives in French, addresses the fact that the object reading is in fact acceptable (but dispreferred) with *se*-verbs in the comparative ellipsis construction, confirms these facts experimentally (native controls) and provides an analysis to account for them.

All these implications suggest the need for further research in various domains. To conclude, I will address some limitations and directions for further research. To begin with, factors such as the reflexive/reciprocal ambiguity of the stimuli in the AJT and the residual transfer effect in the case of the English-speaking group blurred the overall picture emerging from the results. Although it initially seemed to be a good idea to involve more contexts with *se* and L2ers whose L1s derive reflexive/reciprocal verbs in a different manner (productive vs. lexically restricted morphology; overt vs. null morphology), it was ultimately challenging to control for every potential issue in the design of the experiment (see sections 7.1.2 through 7.1.5). Further investigation of the effect of misleading classroom instruction regarding *se* will need to take these factors into account. One way to follow up on the present study would be to involve exclusively naturalistic L2ers

to check if their performance on the same tasks differs from learners who have been exposed to the misleading instruction regarding *se*; it may turn out that naturalistic speakers observe a much sharper contrast between *se* and object pronouns, which will suggest that the classroom misanalysis may still have a limited effect on L2ers. Involving currently instructed learners and exclusively classroom learners of different proficiency levels will help determine whether misleading classroom instruction is ever efficient and can ever affect L2ers' competence. Finally, examining scenarios where other linguistic phenomena are presented in the L2 classroom in a misleading way will make a stronger case for the claim that superficially logical but linguistically misleading generalizations are not adopted by L2 speakers.

7.3   Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has explored effects and non-effects of linguistically misleading L2 instruction. Most L2 research seeking to demonstrate UG access in L2 acquisition has looked at L2 properties that are uninstructed. Despite this tradition, I suggest that we should, in fact, look into acquisition of certain instructed L2 properties: in particular, those for which explicit instruction appears to be linguistically misleading but makes perfect sense logically. Such instructed L2 properties are still underdetermined and even more so than in uninstructed scenarios. In these cases, L2ers are explicitly led in the wrong direction, so, if they succeed in converging on a native-like representation, this should be taken as evidence that they rely on knowledge of what a natural language grammar can and cannot look like.

The present thesis has focused on L2 acquisition of French reflexive and reciprocal verbs which are consistently misrepresented in the FSL classroom as syntactic constructions involving a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun. Two tasks have been designed to answer the question of whether English- and Russian-speaking L2 learners of French adopt the linguistically inaccurate classroom generalization or converge on a native-like representation of the clitic *se*. In addition, a questionnaire on *se* (completed by L2ers after the experiment) has tapped

participants' recollection of any explicit classroom instruction. The most important finding has been that although about half of participants referred to *se* as an object pronoun in the *se* questionnaire – thus showing that they remembered the classroom generalization – L2 learners were still clearly making the relevant native-like distinction between *se* and true object pronouns in the experimental tasks. Learners' failure to internalize superficially logical but linguistically false generalizations at the level of *linguistic competence* – as opposed to the level of *learned linguistic knowledge* (Schwartz 1993) – suggests that adult language acquirers must still employ language specific learning mechanisms and go beyond instruction.

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Acceptability Judgement Test

ALORS, COMMENT ÇA MARCHE?

Lors de cette tâche vous verrez des petits récits (présentées sur un écran d'ordinateur), chacun suivi d'une phrase en <u>bleu</u>. Veuillez lire chaque récit attentivement et me dire si vous croyez ou non que la phrase en <u>bleu</u> vous semble possible en français **étant donné le contexte du récit.** Veuillez évaluer chaque phrase oralement comme **'IMPOSSIBLE'** ou **'POSSIBLE'** en français, et inscrire vos intuitions sur une feuille de papier. Si vous n'avez aucune intuition du tout pour une phrase quelconque, veuillez répondre 'AUCUNE INTUITION' plutôt que de répondre au hasard. L'orthographe et la ponctuation ne sont pas importantes. (Veuillez donc ignorer des fautes de ce genre si vous en détectez.)

À QUOI SERT LE RÉCIT?

Le récit fournit un contexte vous donnant quelques informations pertinentes au sujet de la phrase en <u>bleu</u>.

SUR QUOI DEVRAIS-JE ME BASER QUAND J'ÉVALUE LES PHRASES?

Veuillez vous fier seulement à votre **première réaction intuitive** quand vous lisez la phrase et ce, **dans le contexte du récit.** Concentrez-vous sur comment vous vous sentez par rapport à la phrase. Ne vous attardez pas à réfléchir sur ce que vos livres de grammaire pourraient dire à ce sujet. La seule chose qui me préoccupe est comment vous, personnellement, vous comprenez et utilisez la langue française.

QUE VOULONS-NOUS DIRE PAR 'INTUITION POUR UNE LANGUE'?

Quand on parle une langue, on développe une 'impression' de ce qui est possible dans une phrase. Même entre locuteurs d'une même langue maternelle, les intuitions sur ce qui est possible peuvent varier. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ni de mauvaises réponses. Lorsque vous évaluez les phrases dans cette tâche, veuillez garder à l'esprit qu'il y a parfois plusieurs alternatives pour exprimer une même idée. Par exemple :

Notre ami Mathieu a un chien qui ne nous aime pas beaucoup. Chaque fois que nous arrivons chez Mathieu, le chien jappe, et il essaie même parfois de nous mordre.

(1) <u>Il est probable que le chien est trop hostile</u>.
(2) <u>Il paraît que le chien est trop hostile</u>.

(1) et (2) signifient la même chose. Bien qu'on puisse préférer une façon de dire à une autre, ce qui est important est que (1) et (2) sont des phrases qui sont toutes deux essentiellement possibles/acceptables en français dans le contexte du récit. **Si votre intuition par rapport à une phrase quelconque dans le contexte de son récit se trouve entre 'tout à fait bien' et 'pas si mal', vous devriez choisir de l'évaluer 'POSSIBLE'.**

Par contre, il arrive parfois que deux constructions semblables ne sont pas aussi acceptables l'une que l'autre. Par exemple:

(3) <u>Le chien est probable trop hostile</u>.
(4) <u>Le chien paraît trop hostile</u>.

Bien que *être probable* et *paraître* puissent signifier plus ou moins la même chose, la phrase (4) est tout à fait acceptable tandis que la phrase (3) ne sonne pas

comme une phrase qui est possible en français. **Si votre intuition par rapport à une phrase quelconque dans le contexte de son récit se trouve entre 'logique, mais ça sonne vraiment bizarre' et 'complètement inacceptable', vous devriez choisir de l'évaluer 'IMPOSSIBLE'.**

AJT Stimuli

Condition (sub-condition)	Item	Item # in order A/B
Passive (reflexive)	Context: Gaétan appelle son avocat Pascal. La secrétaire le met en attente, comme elle veut d'abord dire à Pascal qui l'attend sur la ligne. Par contre, elle n'appuie pas la bonne touche sur le téléphone et Gaétan entend alors la voix de la secrétaire qui dit : « Monsieur Pascal, Gaétan vous appelle, pouvez vous lui parler présentement? » Sentence: Par erreur, Gaétan s'est présenté par la secrétaire de son avocat.	15/72
Passive (reflexive)	Context: France vient d'arriver à un party chic. Plusieurs invités la regardent de travers. Quand elle demande à Lucie s'il y a quelque chose dans son apparence qui ne convient pas, Lucie pointe du doigt le reflet de France dans le miroir et mentionne que porter ses souliers oranges avec son pantalon bleu n'est probablement pas le meilleur des choix vestimentaires. Sentence: France s'est montrée par Lucie dans le miroir.	21/66

Passive (reflexive)	Context: Alain Lalonde est critique littéraire, mais un jour il a décidé d'écrire un roman. Il a ensuite fait un appel anonyme à une maison d'édition pour demander s'ils envisageraient publier un roman d'un auteur inconnu. Ils lui ont recommandé de faire évaluer d'abord son roman par un critique littéraire reconnu, tel Alain Lalonde. Sentence: Alain s'est recommandé par la maison d'édition comme critique littéraire.	28/59
Passive (reflexive)	Context: Michel est un nouveau professeur de mathématiques et il est curieux de voir ce que ses étudiants pensent de lui. Un jour il visite le forum en ligne de son école comme étudiant potentiel et demande aux autres étudiants de décrire le nouveau prof de maths. Les descriptions qu'il reçoit sont très positives. Sentence: Le nouveau prof de maths s'est décrit par les étudiants en ligne.	80/7
Passive (reciprocal)	Context: Arielle n'a jamais rencontré Edgar, et Edgar n'a jamais rencontré Arielle, mais leurs parents essaient de générer un intérêt mutuel. La mère d'Arielle a déjà décrit Edgar comme étant un jeune homme très fiable ; le père d'Edgar a décrit Arielle comme étant une vraie beauté. Sentence: Edgar et Arielle se sont décrits par leurs parents.	47/40

Passive (reciprocal)	Context: Émile et Natalie sont des partenaires en affaires et doivent se rencontrer aujourd'hui pour la première fois, dans un restaurant bondé. Émile et sa secrétaire sont déjà à l'intérieur quand Natalie arrive avec la sienne. La secrétaire d'Émile aperçoit Natalie et la montre immédiatement du doigt à son patron. La secrétaire de Natalie montre alors Émile à sa patronne. Sentence: Emile et Natalie se sont montrés par leurs secrétaires dans un restaurant.	54/33
Passive (reciprocal)	Context: Nicolas et Irène sont tous deux des amis de Maurice. Irène n'a jamais rencontré Nicolas, et Nicolas a seulement vu une fois une photo d'Irène. Un jour Maurice les invite tous les deux à une soirée, et quand il voit ses deux amis, il présente immédiatement Irène à Nicolas, et Nicolas à Irène. Sentence: Irène et Nicolas se sont présentés par Maurice pendant la soirée.	65/22
Passive (reciprocal)	Context: Emma et Audrey sont toutes deux chanteuses, et chacune d'entre elles cherche une partenaire pour enregistrer un duo. Par hasard, les deux ont le même agent et celui-ci recommande enfin Audrey à Emma, et Emma à Audrey. Il n'est pas sûr que ce soit une bonne idée, mais pourquoi ne pas essayer?	75/12

	Sentence:	
	Finalement, Emma et Audrey se sont recommandées par leur agent.	
Passive (object clitic)	Context: Nous voulons dîner dans un restaurant très couru d'Hollywood parce que nous voulons vraiment apercevoir des personnalités célèbres. Par contre, c'est souvent difficile de les reconnaître en dehors de leurs rôles. Notre ami Étienne nous a promis de dîner avec nous et de nous indiquer chaque célébrité qu'il peut identifier. Sentence: Les célébrités nous seront montrées par notre ami Étienne.	2/85
Passive (object clitic)	Context: L'année dernière, mon ami et moi cherchions un nouveau professeur pour des cours privés d'espagnol. Nous avons fait la visite de quelques cours de langues à l'université pour demander aux étudiants de nous recommander quelqu'un. C'est comme ça que nous avons trouvé Alejandro, qui nous enseigne depuis ce temps-là. Sentence: Notre professeur Alejandro nous a été recommandé par ses étudiants.	11/76
Passive (object clitic)	Context: Il est triste qu'aujourd'hui les personnalités connues ne puissent pas avoir de vie privée. Tous les détails de leur vie nous sont racontés dans diverses revues. Par exemple, pensez à Angelina et Brad – rien à leur sujet ne reste secret. Les journaux à potins nous racontent tout à propos de leur maison, leur magasinage, leurs enfants, etc.	25/62

	Sentence: Angelina et Brad nous sont décrits en détail par les revues.	
Passive (object clitic)	Context: Maude et Élizabeth sont de jeunes actrices qui jouent dans le nouveau film de notre ami producteur, Luc. Un jour, nous visitons le plateau du film, et Luc nous présente les actrices. Elles ne sont pas très connues pour l'instant, mais je suis certain qu'elles le seront un jour. Elles sont très belles et Luc dit qu'elles sont aussi très talentueuses. Sentence: Les actrices Maude et Élizabeth nous sont présentées par le producteur.	33/54
Adjective (reflexive)	Context: Madeleine change toujours d'avis à propos de tout. Un jour elle aime le café, le lendemain elle le déteste. Elle porterait des jeans sales pour aller à un concert en disant que sa tenue vestimentaire ne lui tient pas à cœur, mais le lendemain elle porterait des vêtements chics pour aller au cinéma. Sentence: En changeant toujours d'avis, Madeleine s'est infidèle.	9/78
Adjective (reflexive)	Context: Clément souffre d'une maladie sérieuse depuis quelques temps. Il va maintenant de mieux en mieux, mais sous l'avis de ses médecins, il prête une attention spéciale à son état de santé. Par exemple, s'il fait une rechute de fièvre, il doit contacter l'hôpital immédiatement.	16/71

	Sentence: Sous l'avis de ses médecins, Clément s'est très attentif.	
Adjective (reflexive)	Context: Mélanie vise une université particulière pour ses études, et entend absolument y entrer. Elle décide à la dernière minute de faire aussi une demande d'admission à une autre université. Finalement, il advient que l'université de premier choix de Mélanie ne l'accepte pas, et elle est alors très soulagée d'avoir fait une demande ailleurs. Sentence: Mélanie s'est reconnaissante pour sa prévoyance.	48/39
Adjective (reflexive)	Context: Benoît est un étudiant au doctorat et il travaille sur sa dissertation. Il a encore beaucoup de travail à faire. Par contre, Benoît vient d'attraper un léger rhume et comme il croit que travailler malade est très mauvais pour la santé, il a décidé de rester au lit à lire des bandes dessinées pendant sa convalescence, et tout son travail en sera retardé. Sentence: À cause de son léger rhume, Benoît s'est trop sympathique.	51/36
Adjective (reciprocal)	Context: Lise et Albert ont des problèmes avec leur couple et visitent un conseiller conjugal depuis quelques temps. Récemment, leurs amis voient qu'Albert évite les remarques sarcastiques, ce qui offusquait auparavant sa conjointe. Quant à Lise, elle semble porter beaucoup plus d'attention aux soucis de son conjoint.	3/84

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	Sentence: Grâce à leur conseiller conjugal, Lise et Albert se sont plus attentifs.	
Adjective (reciprocal)	Context: Daphné et Éric étaient amoureux auparavant, mais avec le temps qui passe, leur affection diminue. Bien qu'ils soient encore officiellement ensemble, la rumeur court que Daphné a une liaison avec quelqu'un d'autre, et un de mes amis a vu Éric embrasser sa secrétaire. Sentence: Malheureusement, il semble que Daphné et Éric se sont infidèles.	20/67
Adjective (reciprocal)	Context: Léonie et Judith passent toutes deux à travers une période difficile en ce moment. Léonie a récemment perdu son emploi. Judith est étudiante étrangère et c'est difficile pour elle de vivre loin de sa famille. Judith a beaucoup de sympathie pour Léonie et tente de la consoler. Léonie aussi ressent de la compassion envers Judith et l'aide beaucoup. Sentence: Pendant leur période difficile, Léonie et Judith se sont sympathiques.	27/60
Adjective (reciprocal)	Context: Étienne enseigne l'espagnol à Joël. Étienne prépare toujours bien le cours, et Joël n'oublie jamais de faire ses devoirs. C'est cela qui est à l'origine de la sympathie qu'ils ont l'un pour l'autre: Joël apprécie que les cours sont toujours bien préparés, et Étienne apprécie	13/74

	grandement les efforts de son élève. Sentence: Étienne et Joël se sont reconnaissants pour leurs efforts.	
Adjective (object clitic)	Context: Notre famille a récemment déménagé. Mon fils a donc dû changer d'école. Comme il est le seul nouvel étudiant dans sa classe, la situation est difficile pour lui. Ce qui aide beaucoup, par contre, c'est que ses enseignants lui prêtent beaucoup d'attention et tentent de le rendre confortable dans son nouvel environnement. Sentence: Mon fils, ses nouveaux enseignants lui sont très attentifs.	22/65
Adjective (object clitic)	Context: J'étudie et je travaille à la fois et il est souvent difficile de concilier ces deux responsabilités lorsque les examens commencent. Heureusement, j'ai la chance d'avoir un patron compréhensif. Il m'a dit que pendant ma période d'examens je pourrai travailler un nombre réduit de jours par semaine et finir plus tôt lorsque je travaille. Sentence: Pendant ma période d'examens, mon patron m'est très sympathique.	59/28
Adjective (object clitic)	Context: Richard et Mireille travaillent au même endroit, mais à différentes heures de la journée. Un soir, Richard a une sortie de planifiée et il demande à Mireille de le remplacer au travail, ce qu'elle accepte volontiers de faire. Richard apprécie beaucoup sa volonté de l'aider.	73/14

	Sentence: Mireille, Richard lui est reconnaissant pour son aide.	
Adjective (object clitic)	Context: J'ai l'impression que ma blonde Marlène est en train d'avoir une liaison avec son patron. Elle travaille toujours tard et son patron lui téléphone souvent, même les fins de semaine. Bien que Marlène m'assure que c'est juste mon imagination et que je ne devrais pas l'accuser, j'ai toujours de sérieux soupçons. Sentence: Je soupçonne que ma blonde Marlène m'est infidèle.	81/6
Productive verb (reflexive)	Context: Sébastien n'a aucune concentration ces jours-ci. Par exemple, hier, il a décidé de donner un coup de téléphone à Sandrine, mais quand il a appelé, la ligne était occupée. Sébastien a alors réalisé qu'il avait signalé son propre numéro par mégarde, et non celui de Sandrine. Sentence: Hier, Sébastien s'est téléphoné par erreur.	4/83
Productive verb (reflexive)	Context: Amélie avait un examen mardi dernier. Elle était bien préparée, mais à la dernière minute elle a eu peur et a écrit toutes les formules sur sa main. Le professeur a vu ce qu'elle avait fait, et elle a été expulsée de l'école. Amélie était furieuse envers sa peur et son manque de confiance. Sentence: Amélie s'est détestée à cause de son manque de confiance.	30/57

Productive verb (reflexive)	Context: Basile aime absolument tout à propos de sa propre personne. Il adore son charme, son esprit, son sens de l'humour et son bon goût. De plus, il passe son temps à dire à tout le monde à quel point il trouve qu'il est parfait et il veut que tout le monde l'approuve. Sentence: C'est clair pour tout le monde que Basile s'aime profondément.	61/26
Productive verb (reflexive)	Context: Caroline doit dessiner quelqu'un pour son cours de dessin, mais personne ne veut poser pour elle. D'abord, elle est très déçue, elle pleure et elle ne sait pas quoi faire. Tout à coup, elle voit son reflet dans le miroir et elle dessine sa propre image. Sentence: Caroline se dessine pour son cours de dessin.	77/10
Productive verb (reciprocal)	Context: Alexandre et Magali sont colocataires. Puisque les murs de leur appartement sont très minces, Alexandre peut entendre chaque mot que Magali prononce lorsqu'elle parle au téléphone. Magali aussi peut entendre chaque juron d'Alexandre lorsque son ordinateur ne fonctionne pas. Sentence: Alexandre et Magali s'entendent à cause des murs minces.	6/81
Productive verb (reciprocal)	Context: Henri et Jérôme ont leur anniversaire de naissance le	70/17

	même jour. Cette année, Henri a acheté un livre pour Jérôme et Jérôme a donné une cravate à Henri. Jérôme a remercié Henri toute la soirée et Henri aussi ne pouvait pas arrêter de dire merci à Jérôme. Sentence: Henri et Jérôme se sont remerciés pour les cadeaux toute la soirée.	
Productive verb (reciprocal)	Context: Fabien et Gérard sont des amis et étudient à la même école. Quand Fabien a de la difficulté avec des problèmes de mathématiques, Gérard lui explique comment les résoudre. Quand Gérard n'arrive pas à trouver un sujet pour une composition, Fabien lui donne des idées. Sentence: Fabien et Gérard s'aident avec leurs études à l'école.	19/68
Productive verb (reciprocal)	Context: Chantal et Denise sont restées ensemble à l'hôtel à Prague. À la fin de leur séjour, elles ont eu une conversation difficile. Denise a accusé Chantal d'avoir laissé traîner ses affaires partout dans la chambre. Quant à Chantal, elle a accusé Denise d'avoir trop parlé au téléphone. Sentence: Chantal et Denise se sont accusées pendant leur conversation.	41/46
ECM (reflexive)	Context: Nicole a été invitée à un bal masqué. Elle a trouvé un joli costume juste à temps pour la soirée. Juste avant d'entrer dans la salle de bal, une voiture	8/79

	passe près d'elle dans la rue et éclabousse sa nouvelle robe. Elle ne remarque pas les taches de boue et elle est convaincue qu'elle a encore l'air parfaitement magnifique. Sentence: À propos de son apparence, Nicole se présume encore ravissante.	
ECM (reflexive)	Context: Mon amie Odette n'est pas satisfaite de sa taille. Bien qu'elle ne soit pas très petite, elle aime les hommes très grands et croit qu'elle doit toujours être perchée sur des souliers à talons hauts pour que ces hommes la remarquent. Sentence: Mon amie Odette ne se considère pas assez grande.	67/20
ECM (reflexive)	Context: Ma sœur Liliane essaie toujours de faire connaître son opinion sur tous les sujets. Elle a un doctorat en littérature, et semble croire qu'elle en connaît plus que n'importe qui. À vrai dire, ce n'est pas toujours très clair ce qu'elle veut dire. Sentence: C'est évident que ma sœur Liliane se croit très intelligente.	78/9
ECM (reflexive)	Context: Marc croit certainement qu'il a l'apparence idéale. Il est convaincu que ses yeux sont tout à fait de la bonne couleur, que ses cheveux sont parfaits et que son physique est splendide. Bien qu'on puisse être d'accord avec Marc, il faut aussi tenir compte des différents goûts!	86/1

	Sentence:	
	Quant à son apparence, Marc se trouve absolument idéal.	
ECM (reciprocal)	Context:	12/75
	Gabriel et Hélène sont dans la même classe, mais ne sont pas amis. Gabriel pense que les commentaires qu'Hélène passe sur ses vêtements démodés sont imbéciles. Quant à Hélène, elle est convaincue que seulement les idiots ne suivent pas les recommandations des revues de mode.	
	Sentence:	
	À cause de leurs désaccords, Gabriel et Hélène se présument stupides.	
ECM (reciprocal)	Context:	34/53
	Jacques et Léon sont les meilleurs humoristes de tout le spectacle. Par contre, peut-être parce qu'ils sont tous les deux très compétitifs, Jacques n'aime pas les blagues de Léon et Léon croit que les gags de Jacques tombent toujours à plat. C'est très triste.	
	Sentence:	
	Jacques et Léon ne se considèrent pas drôles du tout.	
ECM (reciprocal)	Context:	40/47
	Léa et Frédéric sont tous les deux des étudiants à la maîtrise, mais dans des domaines différents. Quand Léa parle de chimie, Frédéric est profondément impressionné par ses connaissances. Quand Frédéric parle de poésie, Léa est étonnée de voir comment il perçoit clairement les intentions de l'auteur.	

	Sentence: Les étudiants à la maîtrise Léa et Frédéric se trouvent très intelligents.	
ECM (reciprocal)	Context: Annie et Julien sont amoureux. Peu importe ce que disent les autres, Annie croit que Julien est le garçon le plus beau et le plus intelligent du monde entier. Julien est convaincu lui aussi qu'Annie est la fille la plus belle et la plus douée de tout l'univers. Sentence: Comme ils sont amoureux, Annie et Julien se croient extraordinaires.	49/38
ECM (object clitic)	Context: Dimanche dernier, Théo est allé à la pêche avec le frère de Suzanne. Sur le chemin du retour, Théo était en train de conduire quand une autre voiture les a frappés. Bien que le conducteur de l'autre voiture ait reconnu qu'il était responsable, Suzanne croit toujours que c'était la faute à Théo. Sentence: Théo, Suzanne le considère responsable de l'accident.	14/73
ECM (object clitic)	Context: Rémi est le meilleur ami de Simone. Bien qu'il aime beaucoup Simone comme personne, il doit avouer qu'elle n'a pas beaucoup de charme. Par contre, la petite sœur de Simone est très jolie, et Rémi pense qu'elle n'a pas de copain. Il entend bien lui demander de sortir avec lui.	23/64

	Sentence: Quant à la sœur de Simone, Rémi la croit célibataire.	
ECM (object clitic)	Context: Jeudi dernier, le professeur a donné comme devoir un problème de mathématiques compliqué. Sylvie, qui est très douée en maths, a trouvé la réponse le jour même. En effet, elle pensait que le problème était assez facile, mais tous les autres étudiants ont eu beaucoup de difficulté. Sentence: Le devoir de mathématiques, Sylvie l'a trouvé facile.	29/58
ECM (object clitic)	Context: Ma colocataire Béatrice pense que je suis méchante. C'est parce que j'oublie parfois de laver la vaisselle et je fais semblant que je ne me souviens pas quand c'est à mon tour de faire le ménage dans l'appartement. Je peux certainement comprendre pourquoi elle ne m'aime pas Sentence: Ma colocataire Béatrice me présume méchante.	38/49
Crossling. verb (reflexive)	Context: Certaines personnes ont besoin de beaucoup de temps ou d'une bonne tasse de café le matin avant d'être fonctionnelles. Quant à Paul, chaque matin il entre dans la douche. Il ouvre l'eau, recouvre son corps de savon et ensuite rince tout le savon. Sentence: Paul se lave chaque matin dans la douche.	17/70
Crossling. verb (reflexive)	Context: Jean avait une entrevue importante hier. Il a décidé qu'il	7/80

	aurait l'air plus sérieux avec le visage rasé. Alors il a allumé son rasoir et a rasé la barbe qu'il portait. En fait, l'entrevue a été plus difficile que prévue. Peut-être que Jean n'avait pas l'air tout à fait assez sérieux finalement. Sentence: Jean s'est rasé avant son entrevue importante.	
Crossling. verb (reflexive)	Context: Sophie est allergique au miel, mais hier elle a mangé par erreur un morceau de tarte qui contenait du miel. Aujourd'hui Sophie est couverte de démangeaisons rougeâtres et elle gratte son visage et ses bras sans arrêt. Sentence: À cause de son allergie, Sophie se gratte toute la journée.	52/35
Crossling. verb (reflexive)	Context: Hier, c'était l'anniversaire de Martin. Au début, il voulait organiser une fête, mais il a complètement oublié d'envoyer les invitations. Enfin, il a trouvé une bonne manière de célébrer. Il a porté un habit splendide toute la journée et a eu l'air magnifique. Sentence: Martin s'est habillé magnifiquement hier.	63/24
Crossling. verb (reciprocal)	Context: Pierre a vu Marie dans le parc la semaine dernière. Il l'a appelée, et comme ils avaient tous les deux un peu de temps, ils sont allés ensemble dans un café. Pierre lui a raconté des nouvelles à propos de leurs amis communs et Marie lui a parlé de son nouvel emploi.	1/86

	Sentence: Pierre et Marie se sont rencontrés la semaine dernière.	
Crossling. verb (reciprocal)	Context: C'est la vidéo du premier anniversaire de mariage de François et Lucie. Dans la vidéo, François donne des fleurs à Lucie et elle lui rend un baiser joyeux. Ensuite, Lucie donne un nouveau chapeau à François et il l'embrasse à son tour. Sentence: François et Lucie s'embrassent dans la vidéo de l'anniversaire.	45/42
Crossling. verb (reciprocal)	Context: Claire et Frédéric sont toujours ensemble. Ils ignorent les commentaires des autres : Claire câline et embrasse Frédéric, et Frédéric embrasse et câline Claire, dans tous les lieux publics où ils vont. Tout cela est certainement romantique, mais beaucoup de gens trouvent ça agaçant. Sentence: Claire et Frédéric se caressent toujours publiquement.	74/13
Crossling. verb (reciprocal)	Context: Il y a quelques jours, Philippe et Christophe, deux frères, ont eu une bagarre. Ils ne pouvaient pas décider à qui c'était le tour de nettoyer leur chambre. Finalement, Christophe a frappé Philippe avec un oreiller, et Philippe a frappé Christophe avec un livre. Sentence: Philippe et Christophe se sont battus il y a quelques jours.	83/4

Passive filler (reflexive)	Context: Alain Lalonde est critique littéraire, mais un jour il a décidé d'écrire un roman. Il a ensuite fait un appel anonyme à une maison d'édition pour demander s'ils envisageraient publier un roman d'un auteur inconnu. Ils lui ont recommandé de faire évaluer d'abord son roman par un critique littéraire reconnu, tel Alain Lalonde. Sentence: Alain a été recommandé à lui-même par la maison d'édition.	36/51
Passive filler (reflexive)	Context: Gaétan appelle son avocat Pascal. La secrétaire le met en attente, comme elle veut d'abord dire à Pascal qui l'attend sur la ligne. Par contre, elle n'appuie pas la bonne touche sur le téléphone et Gaétan entend alors la voix de la secrétaire qui dit : « Monsieur Pascal, Gaétan vous appelle, pouvez vous lui parler présentement? » Sentence: Par erreur, Gaétan a été présenté à lui-même par la secrétaire de son avocat.	71/16
Passive filler (reciprocal)	Context: Émile et Natalie sont des partenaires en affaires et doivent se rencontrer aujourd'hui pour la première fois, dans un restaurant bondé. Émile et sa secrétaire sont déjà à l'intérieur quand Natalie arrive avec la sienne. La secrétaire d'Émile aperçoit Natalie et la montre immédiatement du doigt à son patron. La secrétaire de Natalie montre alors Émile à sa patronne.	43/44

	Sentence: Emile et Natalie ont été montrés l'un à l'autre par leurs secrétaires dans un restaurant.	
Passive filler (reciprocal)	Context: Arielle n'a jamais rencontré Edgar, et Edgar n'a jamais rencontré Arielle, mais leurs parents essaient de générer un intérêt mutuel. La mère d'Arielle a déjà décrit Edgar comme étant un jeune homme très fiable ; le père d'Edgar a décrit Arielle comme étant une vraie beauté. Sentence: Edgar et Arielle ont été décrits l'un à l'autre par leurs parents.	56/31
Passive filler (strong pronoun)	Context: Il est triste qu'aujourd'hui les personnalités connues ne puissent pas avoir de vie privée. Tous les détails de leur vie nous sont racontés dans diverses revues. Par exemple, pensez à Angelina et Brad – rien à leur sujet ne reste secret. Les journaux à potins nous racontent tout à propos de leur maison, leur magasinage, leurs enfants, etc. Sentence: Angelina et Brad sont décrits à nous en détail par les revues.	5/82
Passive filler (strong pronoun)	Context: Nous voulons dîner dans un restaurant très couru d'Hollywood parce que nous voulons vraiment apercevoir des personnalités célèbres. Par contre, c'est souvent difficile de les reconnaître en dehors de leurs rôles. Notre ami Étienne nous a promis de dîner avec nous et de nous indiquer chaque célébrité qu'il peut identifier.	85/2

	Sentence: Les célébrités seront montrées à nous par notre ami Étienne.	
Adjective filler (reflexive)	Context: Mélanie vise une université particulière pour ses études, et entend absolument y entrer. Elle décide à la dernière minute de faire aussi une demande d'admission à une autre université. Finalement, il advient que l'université de premier choix de Mélanie ne l'accepte pas, et elle est alors très soulagée d'avoir fait une demande ailleurs. Sentence: Mélanie est reconnaissante à elle-même pour sa prévoyance.	44/43
Adjective filler (reflexive)	Context: Madeleine change toujours d'avis à propos de tout. Un jour elle aime le café, le lendemain elle le déteste. Elle porterait des jeans sales pour aller à un concert en disant que sa tenue vestimentaire ne lui tient pas à cœur, mais le lendemain elle porterait des vêtements chics pour aller au cinéma. Sentence: En changeant toujours d'avis, Madeleine est infidèle à elle-même.	66/21
Adjective filler (reciprocal)	Context: Lise et Albert ont des problèmes avec leur couple et visitent un conseiller conjugal. Récemment, leurs amis voient qu'Albert évite les remarques sarcastiques, ce qui offusquait auparavant sa conjointe. Quant à Lise, elle	69/18

	semble porter beaucoup plus d'attention aux soucis de son conjoint. Sentence: Grâce à leur conseiller conjugal, Lise et Albert sont plus attentifs l'un à l'autre.	
Adjective filler (reciprocal)	Context: Léonie et Judith passent toutes deux à travers une période difficile en ce moment. Léonie a récemment perdu son emploi. Judith est étudiante étrangère et c'est difficile pour elle de vivre loin de sa famille. Judith a beaucoup de sympathie pour Léonie et tente de la consoler. Léonie aussi ressent de la compassion envers Judith et l'aide beaucoup. Sentence: Pendant leur période difficile, Léonie et Judith sont sympathiques l'une à l'autre.	84/3
Adjective filler (strong pronoun)	Context: J'ai l'impression que ma blonde Marlène est en train d'avoir une liaison avec son patron. Elle travaille toujours tard et son patron lui téléphone souvent, même les fins de semaine. Bien que Marlène m'assure que c'est juste mon imagination et que je ne devrais pas l'accuser, j'ai toujours de sérieux soupçons. Sentence: Je soupçonne que ma blonde Marlène est infidèle à moi.	37/50
Adjective filler (strong pronoun)	Context: J'étudie et je travaille à la fois et il est souvent difficile de concilier ces deux responsabilités lorsque les examens	42/45

	commencent. Heureusement, j'ai la chance d'avoir un patron compréhensif. Il m'a dit que pendant ma période d'examens je pourrai travailler un nombre réduit de jours par semaine et finir plus tôt lorsque je travaille. Sentence: Pendant ma période d'examens, mon patron est très sympathique à moi.	
Productive verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Basile aime absolument tout à propos de sa propre personne. Il adore son charme, son esprit, son sens de l'humour et son bon goût. De plus, il passe son temps à dire à tout le monde à quel point il trouve qu'il est parfait et il veut que tout le monde l'approuve. Sentence: C'est clair pour tout le monde que Basile aime lui-même profondément.	18/69
Productive verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Caroline doit dessiner quelqu'un pour son cours de dessin, mais personne ne veut poser pour elle. D'abord, elle est très déçue, elle pleure et elle ne sait pas quoi faire. Tout à coup, elle voit son reflet dans le miroir et elle dessine sa propre image. Sentence: Caroline dessine elle-même pour son cours de dessin.	46/41
Productive verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Sébastien n'a aucune concentration ces jours-ci. Par exemple, hier, il a décidé de donner un coup de téléphone à Sandrine, mais quand il a appelé, la ligne était occupée.	35/52

	Sébastien a alors réalisé qu'il avait signalé son propre numéro par mégarde, et non celui de Sandrine. Sentence: Hier, Sébastien s'a téléphoné par erreur.	
Productive verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Amélie avait un examen mardi dernier. Elle était bien préparée, mais à la dernière minute elle a eu peur et a écrit toutes les formules sur sa main. Le professeur a vu ce qu'elle avait fait, et elle a été expulsée de l'école. Amélie était furieuse envers sa peur et son manque de confiance. Sentence: Amélie s'a détestée à cause de son manque de confiance.	24/63
Productive verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Fabien et Gérard sont des amis et étudient à la même école. Quand Fabien a de la difficulté avec des problèmes de mathématiques, Gérard lui explique comment les résoudre. Quand Gérard n'arrive pas à trouver un sujet pour une composition, Fabien lui donne des idées. Sentence: Fabien et Gérard aident l'un l'autre avec leurs études à l'école.	26/61
Productive verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Alexandre et Magali sont colocataires. Puisque les murs de leur appartement sont très minces, Alexandre peut entendre chaque mot que Magali prononce lorsqu'elle parle au téléphone. Magali aussi peut entendre chaque juron d'Alexandre lorsque son ordinateur ne fonctionne pas.	76/11

	Sentence: Alexandre et Magali entendent l'un l'autre à cause des murs minces.	
Productive verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Chantal et Denise sont restées ensemble à l'hôtel à Prague. À la fin de leur séjour, elles ont eu une conversation difficile. Denise a accusé Chantal d'avoir laissé traîner ses affaires partout dans la chambre. Quant à Chantal, elle a accusé Denise d'avoir trop parlé au téléphone. Sentence: Chantal s'est accusée avec Denise pendant leur conversation.	31/56
Productive verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Henri et Jérôme ont leur anniversaire de naissance le même jour. Cette année, Henri a acheté un livre pour Jérôme et Jérôme a donné une cravate à Henri. Ils étaient tous les deux satisfaits de leurs cadeaux. Jérôme a remercié Henri toute la soirée et Henri aussi ne pouvait pas arrêter de dire merci à Jérôme. Sentence: Henri s'est remercié avec Jérôme pour les cadeaux toute la soirée.	10/77
ECM filler (reflexive)	Context: Marc croit certainement qu'il a l'apparence idéale. Il est convaincu que ses yeux sont tout à fait de la bonne couleur, que ses cheveux sont parfaits et que son physique est splendide. Bien qu'on puisse être d'accord avec Marc, il faut aussi tenir compte des différents goûts!	60/27

	Sentence: Quant à son apparence, Marc trouve lui-même absolument idéal.	
ECM filler (reflexive)	Context: Ma sœur Liliane essaie toujours de faire connaître son opinion sur tous les sujets. Elle a un doctorat en littérature, et semble croire qu'elle en connaît plus que n'importe qui. À vrai dire, ce n'est pas toujours très clair ce qu'elle veut dire. Sentence: C'est évident que ma sœur Liliane croit elle-même très intelligente.	58/29
ECM filler (reciprocal)	Context: Gabriel et Hélène sont dans la même classe, mais ne sont pas amis. Gabriel pense que les commentaires qu'Hélène passe sur ses vêtements démodés sont imbéciles. Quant à Hélène, elle est convaincue que seulement les idiots ne suivent pas les recommandations des revues de mode. Sentence: À cause de leurs désaccords, Gabriel et Hélène présument l'un l'autre stupides.	62/25
ECM filler (reciprocal)	Context: Jacques et Léon sont les meilleurs humoristes de tout le spectacle. Par contre, peut-être parce qu'ils sont tous les deux très compétitifs, Jacques n'aime pas les blagues de Léon et Léon croit que les gags de Jacques tombent toujours à plat. C'est très triste.	82/5

	Sentence:	
	Jacques et Léon ne considèrent pas l'un l'autre drôles du tout.	
ECM filler (strong pronoun)	Context: Dimanche dernier, Théo est allé à la pêche avec le frère de Suzanne. Sur le chemin du retour, Théo était en train de conduire quand une autre voiture les a frappés. Bien que le conducteur de l'autre voiture ait reconnu qu'il était responsable, Suzanne croit toujours que c'était la faute à Théo. Sentence: Théo, Suzanne considère lui responsable de l'accident.	53/34
ECM filler (strong pronoun)	Context: Ma colocataire Béatrice pense que je suis méchante. C'est parce que j'oublie parfois de laver la vaisselle et je fais semblant que je ne me souviens pas quand c'est à mon tour de faire le ménage dans l'appartement. Je peux certainement comprendre pourquoi elle ne m'aime pas. Sentence: Ma colocataire Béatrice présume moi méchante.	72/15
Crossling. verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Certaines personnes ont besoin de beaucoup de temps ou d'une bonne tasse de café le matin avant d'être fonctionnelles. Quant à Paul, chaque matin il entre dans la douche. Il ouvre l'eau, recouvre son corps de savon et ensuite rince tout le savon. Sentence: Paul lave lui-même chaque matin dans la douche.	32/55

Crossling. verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Sophie est allergique au miel, mais hier elle a mangé par erreur un morceau de tarte qui contenait du miel. Aujourd'hui Sophie est couverte de démangeaisons rougeâtres et elle gratte son visage et ses bras sans arrêt. Sentence: À cause de son allergie, Sophie gratte elle-même toute la journée.	79/8
Crossling. verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Jean avait une entrevue importante hier. Il a décidé qu'il aurait l'air plus sérieux avec le visage rasé. Alors il a allumé son rasoir et a rasé la barbe qu'il portait. En fait, l'entrevue a été plus difficile que prévue. Peut-être que Jean n'avait pas l'air tout à fait assez sérieux finalement. Sentence: Jean s'a rasé avant son entrevue importante.	68/19
Crossling. verb filler (reflexive)	Context: Hier, c'était l'anniversaire de Martin. Au début, il voulait organiser une fête, mais il a complètement oublié d'envoyer les invitations. Enfin, il a trouvé une bonne manière de célébrer. Il a porté un habit splendide toute la journée et a eu l'air magnifique. Sentence: Martin s'a habillé magnifiquement hier.	57/30
Crossling. verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Claire et Frédéric sont toujours ensemble. Ils ignorent les commentaires des autres : Claire câline et embrasse Frédéric, et Frédéric embrasse et câline Claire, dans tous	39/48

	les lieux publics où ils vont. Tout cela est certainement romantique, mais beaucoup de gens trouvent ça agaçant. Sentence: Claire et Frédéric caressent toujours l'un l'autre publiquement.	
Crossling. verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Il y a quelques jours, Philippe et Christophe, deux frères, ont eu une bagarre. Ils ne pouvaient pas décider à qui c'était le tour de nettoyer leur chambre. Finalement, Christophe a frappé Philippe avec un oreiller, et Philippe a frappé Christophe avec un livre. Sentence: Philippe et Christophe ont battu l'un l'autre il y a quelques jours.	64/23
Crossling. verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: Pierre a vu Marie dans le parc la semaine dernière. Il l'a appelée, et comme ils avaient tous les deux un peu de temps, ils sont allés ensemble dans un café. Pierre lui a raconté des nouvelles à propos de leurs amis communs et Marie lui a parlé de son nouvel emploi. Sentence: Pierre s'est rencontré avec Marie la semaine dernière.	50/37
Crossling. verb filler (reciprocal)	Context: C'est la vidéo du premier anniversaire de mariage de François et Lucie. Dans la vidéo, François donne des fleurs à Lucie et elle lui rend un baiser joyeux. Ensuite, Lucie donne un nouveau chapeau à François et il l'embrasse à son tour.	55/32

	Sentence: François s'embrasse avec Lucie dans la vidéo de l'anniversaire.	

Truth Value Judgement Test

ALORS, COMMENT ÇA MARCHE?

Lors de cette tâche vous verrez des petits récits (présentés sur un écran d'ordinateur), chacun suivi d'une phrase grammaticalement correcte en <u>rouge</u>. Veuillez lire chaque récit attentivement et me dire si vous croyez que la phrase en <u>rouge</u> découle du récit, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle est une conséquence logique du texte. Veuillez évaluer chaque phrase oralement comme 'DÉCOULE DU RÉCIT' ou 'NE DÉCOULE PAS DU RÉCIT', et inscrire vos intuitions sur une feuille de papier. Si vous décidez qu'une phrase 'NE DÉCOULE PAS DU RÉCIT', vous serez prié de donner une brève explication.

SUR QUOI DEVRAIS-JE ME BASER QUAND J'ÉVALUE LES PHRASES?

Surtout, lisez le récit très attentivement. Lorsque la phrase en <u>rouge</u> apparait, donnez votre réaction immédiate quant à si oui ou non la phrase DÉCOULE DE FAÇON LOGIQUE DU RÉCIT. C'est bien important que votre réponse demeure intuitive.

POUVEZ-VOUS ME DONNER UN EXEMPLE?

<u>Exemple 1</u>:

Un des amis de Lucie est étudiant à l'université. Un jour, Lucie le rencontre dans le parc. Ils se mettent à jaser et elle finit par lui demander s'il a décidé de prendre un cours de biologie ce semestre ou non.

Lucie rencontre un ami qui étudie à l'université.

    ❑ **DÉCOULE DU RÉCIT**

    ❑ **NE DÉCOULE PAS DU RÉCIT**

Si vous croyez que la phrase en rouge ne découle pas du récit, veuillez brièvement expliquer votre choix:

_____

Avez-vous des commentaires?

_____

<u>Exemple 2</u>:
Lucie est étudiante à l'université. Un jour elle rencontre un ami dans le parc. Ils se mettent à jaser et elle finit par lui demander s'il a trouvé un emploi ou non.

Lucie rencontre un ami qui étudie à l'université.

    ❑ **DÉCOULE DU RÉCIT**

    ❑ **NE DÉCOULE PAS DU RÉCIT**

Si vous croyez que la phrase en rouge ne découle pas du récit, veuillez brièvement expliquer votre choix:

_____

Avez-vous des commentaires?

_____

Condition	Item	Item # in order A/B
Intransitive (*se*) Subject	Context: Adrien, le barbier, se rase souvent le matin avant d'ouvrir le salon de coiffure où il travaille. Par contre, le propriétaire du salon, Fabien, ne se rase pas souvent même si il aime ça quand son visage est bien rasé, car chaque fois qu'il se rase, son visage est couvert de petites coupures. Sentence: Adrien se rase plus souvent que Fabien.	1/36
Intransitive (*se*) Subject	Context: Mélanie et Yvan sont tous deux mannequins. Mélanie est tout à fait satisfaite de tout ce qui concerne sa personne. Quant à Yvan, bien qu'il soit confortable avec son apparence, chaque petit défaut qu'il remarque le rend malheureux. Sentence: Mélanie s'aime plus qu'Yvan.	11/26
Intransitive (*se*) Subject	Context: Tristan et Anne sont mariés, mais chacun d'entre eux est en liaison amoureuse avec quelqu'un d'autre. Chacun croit l'autre fidèle, et chacun ressent sincèrement beaucoup de culpabilité à propos de son adultère. Tristan ressent beaucoup de haine envers sa personne ces jours-ci et Anne ressent exactement la même chose.	14/23

	Sentence:	
	Tristan se déteste autant qu'Anne.	
Intransitive (*se*) Subject	Context:	22/15
	Adèle et Laurent sont dans la même classe de dessin. De temps en temps, leur enseignante leur demande de dessiner des autoportraits. Bien que tous élèves dessinent de mieux en mieux, il est toujours vrai que les autoportraits d'Adèle ont l'air bien plus professionnels que ceux de Laurent.	
	Sentence:	
	Adèle se dessine mieux que Laurent.	
Intransitive (*se*) Subject	Context:	28/9
	Lucille et Julie sont colocataires. Lucille utilise toujours beaucoup trop de shampooing quand elle lave ses cheveux, et Julie en utilise un peu quand elle lave les siens. C'est bizarre parce que c'est Julie qui a les cheveux plus longs et épais.	
	Sentence:	
	Lucille se lave avec plus de shampooing que Julie.	
Intransitive (*se*) Subject	Context:	36/1
	Marie a un fils, Philémon, qui a 4 ans. De temps en temps, quand ils sortent pour une promenade, Marie permet à Philémon de s'habiller tout seul. Bien sûr, Marie s'habille assez vite, mais Philémon prend beaucoup de temps à s'habiller.	
	Sentence:	
	Marie s'habille plus vite que Philémon.	

| Intransitive (*se*) Object | Context:

C'est un drôle de concours d'habillage pour couples. Le couple gagnant est celui où la femme arrive le plus vite à s'habiller elle-même et ensuite son mari. Les règles ne permettent pas aux maris de s'habiller seuls. Gisèle déteste ce concours, car elle s'habille toujours rapidement, mais prend longtemps à habiller son mari et ils perdent toujours.

Sentence:

Gisèle s'habille plus vite que son mari. | 8/29 |
|---|---|---|
| Intransitive (*se*) Object | Context:

Madeleine a une fille, Nadine, qui a les cheveux longs. Quand Madeleine lave les cheveux de Nadine, elle utilise seulement un peu de shampooing, mais quand elle se lave les siens elle en utilise plus. De temps en temps, Madeleine permet à sa fille de se laver les cheveux toute seule.

Sentence:

Madeleine se lave avec plus de shampooing que sa fille. | 13/24 |
| Intransitive (*se*) Object | Context:

Denis est un barbier professionnel spécialiste du rasage. Pour démontrer ses talents, il se rase au moins une fois par semaine. Ses services sont dispendieux, alors même son ami Edmond qui aime ça quand son visage est bien rasé ne peut pas souvent payer pour ses services. Alors Denis rase Edmond une fois par mois au plus.

Sentence:

Denis se rase plus souvent qu'Edmond. | 21/16 |

Intransitive (*se*) Object	Context: Justin enseigne le dessin à Geneviève et il croit que Geneviève devrait mettre plus d'effort dans les portraits. Comme Geneviève n'a pas d'autres modèles que Justin, elle le dessine parfois; parfois aussi, elle dessine son reflet dans le miroir. Les autoportraits de Geneviève sont un peu mieux que ses portraits de Justin. Sentence: Geneviève se dessine mieux que Justin.	25/12
Intransitive (*se*) Object	Context: Un jour, Roland apprend que sa femme lui est infidèle. Il est si furieux qu'il demande à sa secrétaire de sortir avec lui le soir même, pour avoir sa vengeance. Finalement, Roland réalise que même s'il déteste sa femme pour ce qu'elle a fait, il se déteste autant pour son moment de faiblesse. Sentence: Roland se déteste autant que sa femme.	27/10
Intransitive (*se*) Object	Context: Thomas sort avec Marion depuis déjà 6 mois, et il est clair qu'il l'aime. Par contre, Thomas est très égoïste de nature, et même s'il a beaucoup d'affection et de respect pour Marion, ses propres intérêts et ses propres désirs sont toujours la priorité. Sentence: Thomas s'aime plus que Marion.	30/7
Transitive (*me*) Subject	Context: J'ai deux patrons, Suzanne et Blaise. Je fais toujours de	5/32

	mon mieux quel que soit le patron qui me donne la tâche. Malgré cela, c'est clair pour tout le monde que Suzanne m'aime bien et exprime toujours sa satisfaction avec mon travail, tandis que Blaise ne m'aime pas autant et trouve souvent une raison quelconque de me faire des reproches. Sentence: Suzanne m'aime plus que Blaise.	
Transitive (*me*) Subject	Context: J'ai beaucoup d'amis à l'école, et la plupart des étudiants m'aiment bien, sauf deux garçons, Xavier et Zacharie. Je ne sais pas pourquoi ils me détestent à ce point, mais c'est probablement pour la même raison – ils sont frères jumeaux et me traitent toujours de la même façon. Sentence: Xavier me déteste autant que Zacharie.	9/28
Transitive (*me*) Subject	Context: J'aime ça quand mon visage est bien rasé, mais chaque fois que je me rase, mon visage est couvert de petites coupures. Donc, d'habitude c'est ma femme qui me rase. Par contre, de temps en temps ma femme a congé, car c'est mon frère qui me rase. Sentence: Ma femme me rase plus souvent que mon frère.	16/21
Transitive (*me*) Subject	Context: C'est un concours d'habillage où deux personnes essaient d'habiller quelqu'un d'autre aussi vite que possible. Cette fois, c'est moi qu'ils doivent habiller. Gustave gagne car il m'habille en 50 secondes, tandis qu'Hercule prend 70	19/18

	secondes pour m'habiller complètement.	
	Sentence:	
	Gustave m'habille plus vite qu'Hercule.	
Transitive (*me*) Subject	Context: Je me fais toujours couper les cheveux dans le salon où travaillent Marcel et Pénélope. Pénélope est la propriétaire du salon et elle cherche toujours à sauver des sous. Par exemple, chaque fois qu'elle doit me laver les cheveux, elle utilise le moins de shampooing possible. C'est un problème que je n'ai jamais avec Marcel. Sentence: Marcel me lave avec plus de shampooing que Pénélope.	24/13
Transitive (*me*) Subject	Context: Cette année, j'ai décidé de donner mon portrait à ma femme pour son anniversaire. J'ai demandé à Sylvain et Charles de dessiner mon portrait, et je vais choisir celui qui me ressemble le plus pour le donner à ma femme. Bien qu'aucune des deux œuvres soit terminée, le portrait de Sylvain a déjà l'air plus authentique. Sentence: Sylvain me dessine mieux que Charles.	32/5
Transitive (*me*) Object	Context: Notre fille Maryse a 12 ans et dessine très bien. Elle aime surtout dessiner des portraits. Comme j'ai plus de temps à lui donner que son père, c'est généralement moi qu'elle dessine, alors ses portraits de son père ne sont pas tout à fait aussi bons que ceux de moi.	3/34

	Sentence: Maryse me dessine mieux que son père.	
Transitive (*me*) Object	Context: Mon amie Régine et moi allons au même salon de coiffure. C'est un prix fixe, alors nous payons toujours le même montant, mais notre coiffeur Maxime nous dit tout le temps qu'il devrait me faire payer plus, car il prend toujours plus de temps sur mes cheveux comme ils sont plus longs. Il utilise aussi plus de shampooing sur les miens que sur ceux de Régine. Sentence: Maxime me lave avec plus de shampooing que Régine.	6/31
Transitive (*me*) Object	Context: C'est un concours d'habillage dans lequel les participants forment des groupes de 3, et où une personne doit habiller les deux autres aussi vite que possible. En général, il est plus long d'habiller une femme qu'un homme. Cela prend donc 1 minute pour Joseph de m'habiller, mais 3 minutes pour Joseph d'habiller Monique. Sentence: Joseph m'habille plus vite que Monique.	15/22
Transitive (*me*) Object	Context: Mon amie Virginie et moi prenons toutes deux un cours d'italien à l'université. Notre professeur ressent beaucoup de sympathie envers moi, tandis que Virginie et les autres étudiants ne reçoivent pas autant d'attention. J'espère que la raison est tout simplement qu'il réalise que je travaille très fort et non qu'il me trouve séduisante.	18/19

	Sentence: Notre professeur d'italien m'aime plus que Virginie.	
Transitive (*me*) Object	Context: Ma femme est une spécialiste du rasage et tout le monde dans nos familles en profite. Elle me rase au moins une fois par semaine, et même mon frère, qui est barbier lui aussi, demande à ma femme de le raser au moins une fois par mois. Sentence: Ma femme me rase plus souvent que mon frère.	31/6
Transitive (*me*) Object	Context: Lyne et moi travaillons au même endroit. Notre patron est un individu très malheureux qui déteste tous ses employés et tente de nous rendre misérables. Même si Lyne travaille toujours de son mieux tandis que je mets peu d'effort dans mon travail, notre patron nous traite toutes deux aussi mal l'une que l'autre. Sentence: Notre patron me déteste autant que Lyne.	34/3
Filler (*me*) Subject	Context: J'ai deux enfants, Édouard et Fannie. Édouard a 6 ans et il est très obéissant. Il fait presque toujours ce que je lui demande et il cherche toujours à me faire plaisir. En revanche, Fannie est une adolescente et elle déteste faire ce que je lui demande. Sentence: Édouard m'obéit plus gentiment qu'à Fannie.	4/33

Filler (*me*) Subject	Context: Les boutiques où j'achète mes vêtements et mon maquillage sont côte à côte. Catherine, qui vend des vêtements, tient très fort à sa commission et elle réussit toujours à me vendre quelque chose. Au contraire, Didier, le vendeur de maquillage, n'est pas très intéressé par son travail et parfois, je n'achète rien du tout de son magasin. Sentence: Catherine me vend plus de choses qu'à Didier.	7/30
Filler (*me*) Subject	Context: Je veux investir mon argent et je veux connaître toutes les manières de m'y prendre sagement. J'ai récemment visité un expert financier et j'ai aussi discuté avec un ami qui connait la Bourse. En fait, ils m'ont offert essentiellement les mêmes conseils d'investissement… Sentence: L'expert financier m'offre les mêmes conseils qu'à mon ami.	10/27
Filler (*me*) Subject	Context: Mon oncle remarque toujours quand je porte de nouveaux vêtements ou que j'ai une nouvelle coupe de cheveux, et il complimente toujours mon style. Ma tante ne semble pas être intéressée et ne dit jamais rien. Son propre style est magnifique… Je me demande si elle croit que je ne mérite simplement pas son attention. Sentence: Mon oncle me fait plus de compliments qu'à ma tante.	17/20

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Filler (*me*)	Context:	20/17
Subject	J'ai deux colocataires, Alfred et Benoît. Je peux clairement dire qu'Alfred est mon ami. Il me parle souvent de toutes sortes de choses et nous passons souvent du temps ensemble. Benoît, par contre, ne semble pas beaucoup m'aimer et il ne me parle pas souvent.	
	Sentence:	
	Alfred me parle plus qu'à Benoit.	
Filler (*me*)	Context:	23/14
Subject	Mes meilleurs amis Bruno et Cécile sont en voyage cette année: Bruno est à Londres et Cécile est en Australie. Nous nous sommes entendus pour rester en contact et je leur envoie régulièrement des lettres. Bruno m'envoie souvent des lettres en réponse, alors que Cécile semble être trop occupée puisque je ne reçois pas beaucoup de lettres d'elle.	
	Sentence:	
	Bruno m'écrit plus de lettres qu'à Cécile.	
Filler (*me*)	Context:	26/11
Subject	Ma soeur m'appelle tous les soirs et même si je l'aime beaucoup, je trouve ça parfois épuisant. Mon frère ne m'appelle pas aussi souvent et je crois que c'est probablement la raison pour laquelle j'apprécie autant les conversations téléphoniques avec lui.	
	Sentence:	
	Ma sœur me téléphone plus souvent qu'à mon frère.	
Filler (*me*)	Context:	29/8
Subject	Je prends présentement un cours de linguistique. Bien que	

	le professeur soit très à l'aise avec la matière, l'auxiliaire d'enseignement est souvent plus utile. J'envoie souvent des questions par courriel à mon professeur et à l'auxiliaire et c'est toujours ce dernier qui me répond en premier. Sentence: Mon auxiliaire d'enseignement me répond plus vite qu'à mon prof.	
Filler (*me*) Subject	Context: Hélène et moi prenons un cours d'allemand et j'ai de la difficulté avec les nouvelles règles de grammaire. Hélène réussit très bien en allemand, mais je ne comprend pas ses explications quand elle essaie de m'aider. Alors je vais aux heures de disponibilité du professeur et il réussit généralement à m'expliquer toutes les règles que je ne comprennais pas. Sentence: Mon prof m'explique les règles mieux qu'à Hélène.	33/4
Filler (*me*) Object	Context: Florentin est un élève très populaire dans notre école. Puisque nos pères travaillent au même endroit, il vient parfois me parler. Il ne parle presque jamais aux autres filles à l'école, incluant Chloé qui est clairement amoureuse de lui. Sentence: Florentin me parle plus que Chloé.	2/35
Filler (*me*) Object	Context: Jérémie travaille dans mon bureau et il me bombarde de	12/25

	lettres d'amour tous les jours. Mon patron me bombarde d'autant de lettres, mais celles-ci sont toutes à propos du travail. Parfois, j'aimerais que Jérémie reçoive autant de lettres que moi de notre patron. Il aurait moins de temps pour ses idioties. Sentence: Mon patron m'écrit plus de lettres que Jérémie.	
Filler (*me*) Object	Context: Ludovic et Marilou sont deux de mes employés, mais Marilou a un rang plus élevé. Parfois, Ludovic est obligé de faire ce que Marilou lui demande, mais il met toujours plus d'effort quand c'est moi qui lui demande. Je trouve ça agaçant, puisque maintenant, Marilou me demande de demander à Ludovic de faire le travail pour elle. Sentence: Ludovic m'obéit avec plus d'enthousiasme que Marilou.	35/2

Se questionnaire: explicit metalinguistic beliefs about *se*

VERBES PRONOMINAUX

1. Les verbes comme 'se laver' et 's'embrasser' sont parfois appelés 'verbes pronominaux'.

    (1) Connaissez-vous cette expression?   Oui/ Non   (encerclez S.V.P.)

    (2)   Si vous avez répondu *oui*, veuillez indiquer où vous avez vu/entendu cette expression :

        Un cours de français/ Un manuel de français/ Autre (encerclez S.V.P.)

    (3)   Vous rappelez-vous ou pouvez-vous deviner pourquoi les verbes comme 'se laver' et 's'embrasser' sont appelés 'verbes pronominaux'? Soyez aussi clair que vous le pouvez.

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2. Prenez un moment pour observer les phrases ci-dessous. Veuillez surtout faire attention à la différence dans l'accord du verbe (souligné):

> *Madonna et Britney Spears se sont **vues** pendant un gala.*
> *Madonna et Britney Spears se sont **parlé__** pendant un gala.*

(1)   Tentez d'identifier une règle de grammaire qui expliquerait cette différence d'accord. Soyez aussi clair que possible. Vous pouvez fournir votre explication dans votre langue maternelle et ce, sans vous préoccuper de la terminologie exacte :

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(2)   Est-ce que la règle que vous avez formulée ci-dessus (cochez S.V.P.):

☐   a l'air de quelque chose qui aurait pu vous être enseigné dans un cours de français?

☐   a l'air de quelque chose que vous auriez pu lire dans un manuel de français?

☐   semble être quelque chose que vous n'avez jamais entendu/lu/considéré auparavant?

(3) Avez-vous des commentaires?

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Appendix D

Classroom Instruction

The French as a second language (FSL) classroom instruction and textbooks consistently describe French reflexive and reciprocal verbs as syntactic constructions involving co-reference of a subject and a reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun. Apart from the mentioned similarity between *se* and true pronominal clitics (see chapters 2 and 5), the main rationale behind the pronominal analysis in the FSL teaching context is teaching participial agreement in compound tenses. With *se*-verbs, participial agreement is triggered when (roughly) *se* corresponds to a direct object. To illustrate this, the verb *embrasser (quelqu'un)* 'kiss (somebody)' requires an accusative object; reciprocalization (whish is marked by *se*) suppresses the syntactic realization of a direct object in (1a) and the participial agreement is obligatory. On the other hand, there is no participial agreement when *se* corresponds to a dative argument. Thus, the verb *parler (à quelqu'un)* 'talk (to somebody)' requires an dative object; reciprocalization (marked by *se*) suppresses the syntactic realization of a dative object in (1b) and the participial agreement is not triggered.

(1) French:

   a. Madonna et   Britney **se** sont **embrassé-es** pendant un gala télévisé.
     Madonna and Britney SE kissed-fem.pl   during   a TV performance

   b. Madonna et   Britney **se** sont   **parlé**   quelques fois   hier   matin.
     Madonna and Britney SE talked   several   times yesterday morning

If the detransitivity marker *se* is described as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, teaching the participle agreement difference in (1) becomes easier, since it can be said to straightforwardly follow from a more general rule in (2). This rule is generally taken to hold of examples like (3a) versus (3b); the *se* misanalysis then

implies that (1a) and (1b) are analogous to (3a) and (3b), respectively. True object clitic pronouns behave according to (2), too, i.e. accusative clitics trigger past participle agreement in French (4a), while dative clitics do not (4b). [1]

(2) Direct objects preceding a verb trigger past participle agreement in French, while indirect objects do not.

(3) *French*:
a. Voilà   les   filles que/**lesquelles**   Marc a **embrassé-es**.
   here   the   girls that/which   Marc kissed-fem.pl

b. Voilà   les   filles **auxquelles**   Marc a **parlé_**.
   here   the   girls to+whom   Marc talked

(4) *French*:
a. Marc les   a **embrassé-es**.
   Marc them.ACC   kissed-fem.pl

b. Marc leur   a **parlé_**.
   Marc them.DAT   talked.

Participial agreement is often silent (i.e. only detectable via orthography) and is to a great extent challenging for both L2ers and native speakers.[2] Yet, there is a

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[1] However, there are also differences between *se* and true pronominal clitics as far as these agreement facts are concerned. Sportiche (1990/1998) notes that at least in some French dialects agreement triggered by accusative clitics is optional, while agreement triggered by *se* is obligatory.

[2] It would be tempting to say that this agreement phenomenon has nothing to do with actual linguistic competence (as opposed to 'learned linguistic knowledge', as in Schwartz (1993)) in either case. In rare cases where the agreement is audible (with past participles ending in a consonant), native speakers are reported to have clearer judgments as to its being obligatory (e.g. Sportiche 1990/1998), which may or may not be due to explicit instruction.

great focus on teaching participial agreement and it is a recurrent topic in FSL classes and textbooks. While L2 learners certainly differ as to the exact amount of FSL instruction they receive and the number of textbook/online resources they consult, given that teaching the pronominal analysis of *se* is so pervasive, the majority of learners who have studied French in a formal setting are likely to have had at least some exposure to it. To conclude, below are some of the top Google hits for 'French past participle agreement' (5).

(5)a. 'When *avoir* verbs are used reflexively or reciprocally (that is, with a reflexive pronoun), they will be conjugated with *être* <…>. Nevertheless, they will still only agree with a preceding direct object. Care must be taken to identify whether the reflexive pronoun is a direct or an indirect object pronoun.' 2 Jan. 2008
<http://www.orbilat.com/Languages/French/Grammar/Syntax/French-Syntax-Past_Participle_Agreement.html>.

  b. 'A pronominal verb is a verb which has a reflexive pronoun, that is, a pronoun referring back to its subject. These verbs are easily recognized by the pronoun *se* before the infinitive: *se lever*, *se laver*, *se promener*, etc. <…> It is important to note that, in most cases, the past participle of pronominal verbs agrees in gender and number with the gender and number of the reflexive pronoun <…>. <…> in cases where the reflexive pronoun is an indirect object rather than a direct object, as in the verb *se parler* (*parler à*), there is no agreement.' 2 Jan. 2008
<http://www.laits.utexas.edu/tex/gr/tap4.html>.

  c. 'When the reflexive verb is used with a part of the body, the part of the body is the direct object and the reflexive pronoun is the indirect object. Consequently, there is no past participle agreement. Some examples are *se brosser les cheveux, se laver la figure, se casser le bras.*' 2 Jan. 2008
<http://core.ecu.edu/forl/hennings/verbesreflechis.htm>.

d. 'When the reflexive pronoun is used as a direct object, as in 'Whom did they wash? Themselves!' the past participle agrees with the reflexive pronoun: *Ils se sont lavés*. (They washed themselves.) When the reflexive pronoun is used as an indirect object ("To/for whom did they wash something? For themselves!"), the past participle shows no agreement: *Ils se sont lavé la figure*. (They washed their faces.) 2 Jan. 2008 <http://www.cliffsnotes.com/WileyCDA/CliffsReviewTopic/Reflexive-Verbs-and-Compound-Tenses.topicArticleId-25559,articleId-25550.html>.